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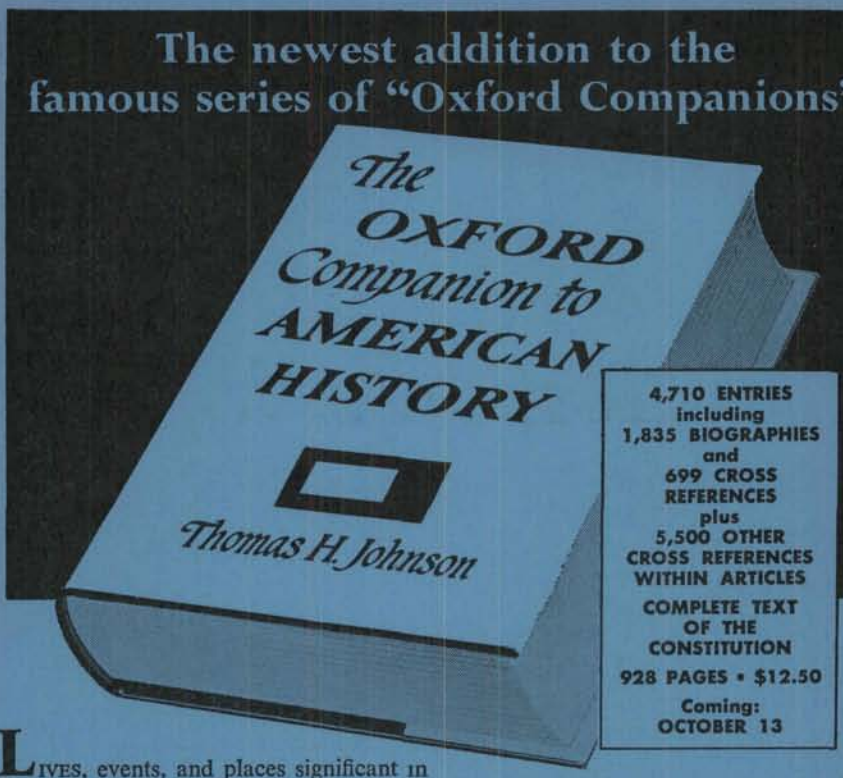
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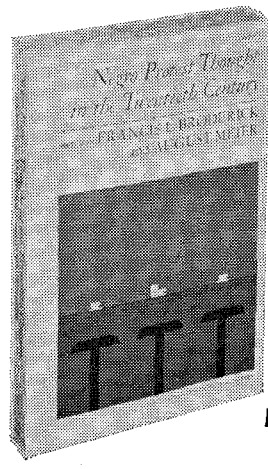
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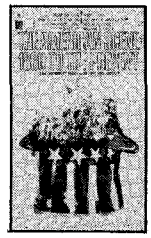
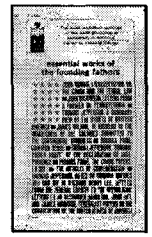
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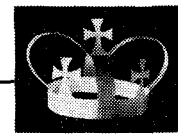
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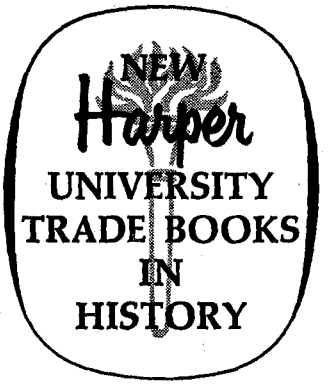
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The
AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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The Schism in American Scholarship

JOHN HIGHAM*

ABOUT three years ago a few university professors and administrators resolved to gain federal funds for "the humanities." Each year since 1950 the National Science Foundation had poured greater sums into the hands of scientists engaged in "basic research." Many other national agencies subsidized studies deemed to have some practical relevance to national defense, health, or social welfare. With President John F. Kennedy's blessing, plans were being drawn for a proposed National Arts Foundation to encourage the creation, display, and performance of art. Surely, in the midst of so much affluence, so much hunger for excellence, so much concern about the quality of American culture, the humanities need not remain unassisted. The scholars who study such matters as literature, philosophy, and history wanted recognition too.

Early in 1963 the American Council of Learned Societies launched an organized campaign. Along with certain other scholarly bodies, it created

* Mr. Higham, professor of history at the University of Michigan, gave an earlier version of this paper at a Conference on the Princeton Studies in the Humanities, November 6, 1965, and at a seminar at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

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a commission to report on the state of the humanities and to point the way to national aid. President Barnaby C. Keeney of Brown University became chairman. Keeney and his associates never succeeded in winning the attention of President Kennedy. But before long they made a crucial decision that gained powerful allies: they decided to emphasize the inseparability of humanistic scholarship and the creative arts.[1]

For this approach the Commission on the Humanities had some justification in principle. One of the tasks of the disciplines it represented was to discourse about art, and academic endeavor would certainly be greatly enlivened by closer relations with the cultural world outside the universities. Keeney, as he told Congress, wanted the humanities and the arts to fertilize one another.[2] At the same time he must have realized that the problems of a ballet dancer differ from those of a professor of ancient history at least as much as his problems differ from those of a physicist. Beneath all affirmations of the reciprocity of art and intellect lay a bond of expediency: the humanities would have a better chance of gaining federal aid if their drive were tied to the more broadly based and fully developed campaign for governmental support of the arts.[3] The commission put aside all thought of asking for an enlargement of the National Science Foundation to include the humanities. It rejected also the possibility of assigning the job to the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Instead, it came out boldly in 1964 for a National Humanities Foundation that would take responsibility for both the humanities and the arts.[4]

A plan for a National Arts Foundation, which August Heckscher had devised as special consultant to President Kennedy, passed the Senate in December 1963. Its sponsors did not take kindly at first to this intrusion from the scholarly world. But after the arts bill failed to pass the House and a few congressmen became interested in a similar plan for the humanities, the

[1] *AHA Newsletter,* I (June 1963), 1; address by Barnaby Keeney at the Conference on the Princeton Studies in the Humanities, Nov. 5, 1965, Nassau Inn, Princeton, N. J.

[2] US Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, *National Arts and Humanities Foundations: Hearings* [hereafter cited as *Hearings*], 89 Cong., 1 sess. (Washington, D. C., 1965), 228–30.

[3] Plans for establishing a national theater, propounded before World War II by Robert Sherwood, were further developed in the late 1940's by Congressman Jacob Javits and others. Proposals for some kind of National Arts Council came before every Congress from 1955 to 1964, when a National Council on the Arts was at last created. Meanwhile, in the early 1960's, state arts councils and publicly subsidized cultural centers proliferated. (New York *Times,* Jan. 30, 1949; *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* [hereafter cited as *CQ Almanac*], XX, 88 Cong., 2 sess. [Washington, D. C., 1964], 427–29.)

[4] American Council of Learned Societies, Council of Graduate Schools in the United States, United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa, *Report of the Commission on the Humanities* (New York, 1964); see also the reports of the work of the commission in *Journal of Higher Education,* XXXVI (Jan. 1965), 5–14.

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desirability of joining forces became gradually apparent. Characteristically, President Lyndon B. Johnson put his weight behind a new bill that would incorporate within one National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities two independently functioning endowments, one for the arts, the other for the humanities.[5] This measure, authorizing each endowment to make annual grants of as much as ten million dollars, was enacted in September 1965. Just a year earlier the backers of the commission's original humanities bill had requested a much more modest appropriation while anticipating a legislative campaign of several years for that. But Congress was mesmerized by the soaring prestige of culture, which had now been authoritatively proclaimed a mission of the Great Society. The administration bill won assent with an ease and rapidity that seemed almost miraculous.[6]

During the congressional hearings and debates, academic spokesmen were usually wary of specifying what they meant by humanities. The alliance with the art establishment, nevertheless, seems to have encouraged an emphasis on moral and aesthetic "enrichment." The humanities, according to their proponents, have to do with qualitative judgment, with a "broad" culture, with an intangible "excellence." Keeney at one point described the humanist as a person who studies human activities through methods other than quantitative.[7] Underlying the whole discussion was an assumption of the nonscientific character of the humanities; they are subjects distinct from and competitive with the sciences.

The belief that knowledge and the students thereof are divisible into two bodies, one scientific, the other "humanistic," is indeed one of the constitutive ideas that frame contemporary intellectual life. The new institutional arrangements for subsidizing scholarship reflect that dualism. They also seem likely to reinforce it, since the new foundation was made possible by separating the humanities from the sciences and associating them with the dissemination of art. Accordingly, we now have a presumably neat division of labor between two federal agencies. The National Science Foundation, austerely excluding anything that might be controversial, supports the social sciences in so far as they "can be studied by objective methods, which will yield independently verifiable results."[8] The National Endowment for the

[5] New York *Times*, Mar. 11, May 26, 1965. On the genesis and fate of the original proposal for an arts foundation, see Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House* (Boston, 1965), 729–36, and *CQ Almanac*, 427–28.

[6] Washington *Post*, Sept. 30, 1965; "Biting the Hand," *New Republic*, CLIII (Oct. 2, 1965), 8. Congressman William S. Moorhead, who introduced the bill proposed by the Commission on the Humanities in August 1964, sought an initial appropriation of only $150,000. *Journal of Higher Education*, 7–9.

[7] *Hearings*, 225.

[8] National Science Foundation, *Thirteenth Annual Report, 1963* (Washington, D. C., 1964),

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Humanities embraces other subjects—literature, linguistics, history, philosophy, archaeology, jurisprudence, the study of art and music—and "those aspects of the social sciences which have humanistic content and employ humanistic methods."[9]

While policy makers have been erecting these separate institutions for nourishing the "two cultures," some leading thinkers have come to believe that the cleavage between them is the very condition the contemporary intellect most needs to overcome. C. P. Snow's famous address in 1959 on the breakdown of communication between men educated as humanists and men educated as scientists seems to have dramatized in America as well as Great Britain a renewed search for continuities.[10] Not all integrationists adopt the same strategy, of course. Some, who are highly monistic, would impose a single logical structure on every kind of knowledge. Others, more pluralistic, see a mixture and gradation of diverse components running through the range of intellectual disciplines.[11] Yet both deny that a sharp or absolute dichotomy between two types of inquiry should exist. In the study of man today, the development of "area studies" and the growing influence of such intellectual hybrids as psycholinguistics and the history of science are demonstrating the practical irrelevance—indeed, the actual hindrance—of a dualistic scheme to what many of our best scholars are doing. Is it possible that the "humanists" have at last achieved official recognition in America at the very moment when the antagonistic confrontation of the two cultures is beginning to yield to new unities and diversities?

If so, we can assist the reorganization by appreciating how fluid and indistinct the line between these cultures has actually been. In the study of man it is by no means easy to say what is science and what is "merely" humanistic. To some extent distinctions between the scientific and the humanistic are useful and nearly inescapable, for the terms do suggest differences in method and habit of mind. But the differences are by no means

28–29. Indeed, the NSF has continually had to vindicate its scientific neutrality to anti-intellectual congressmen.

[9] Public Law 89–209 (Sept. 29, 1965), 1.

[10] The controversy following the publication of Charles Percy Snow's *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge, Eng., 1959) induced the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* to establish in 1961 a new subject heading, "Science and the Humanities."

[11] The unity of knowledge is argued, from opposite points of view, by Robert E. Lane's *The Liberties of Wit: Humanism, Criticism, and the Civic Mind* (New Haven, Conn., 1961), and Michael Polanyi, *The Logic of Personal Knowledge* (Glencoe, Ill., 1961). But my own view in what follows is more indebted to the diversities emphasized by W. T. Jones, *The Sciences and the Humanities: Conflict and Reconciliation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965), and by the stimulating symposium, *Science and Culture, A Study of Cohesive and Disjunctive Forces*, ed. Gerald Holton (Boston, 1965). For other recent discussions of the same issues, see F. S. C. Northrop, *The Logic of the Sciences and the Humanities* (New York, 1959), and Moody E. Prior, *Science and the Humanities* (Evanston, Ill., 1964).

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fixed or categorical. Furthermore, the confusions and distortions that have accompanied efforts to make them so are greatly aggravated by assignment of an allegedly distinctive subject matter to each category. Our tendency to conflate method and subject matter, as in the daily use of the term "discipline," appears in an extended form in the development of one federation of "disciplines" known as social sciences and another known as humanities. How that polarization came about is one of the more important and less attended features of recent American intellectual history.

By science we commonly mean the logical systematization of knowledge into general laws that can be verified and amended by further observation. Thus scientific thinking seeks analytic generality. It abstracts what is measurable from finite things, and it relies on a process of unambiguous measurement and formation of concepts. In the study of man such procedures are applied, as they seem useful, in different degrees to different kinds of data and questions. They do not belong solely to the social studies; nor do they preempt those studies.

The methods that are often called humanistic also have a legitimate place, and should have an important one, in all branches of scholarship. Yet we seem to have no single humanistic strategy. Perhaps the most that can be said is that humanistic approaches predominate in all efforts to preserve the complexity of experience instead of abstracting verifiable regularities from it. These efforts include the use of expressive rather than technically precise language, a greater interest in individual events than in general laws, a reliance on qualitative rather than quantitative judgment, and a subjective grasp of a totality in preference to a dissection of its parts. Most, if not all, scholarship needs some proportion of humanistic and some proportion of scientific thinking. How then have the students of man in American universities become segregated into rival camps, one labeled "humanities," the other labeled "social science"? In some respects the division is both modern and indigenous.

Consider, for example, how scholarly activity is organized in Western European countries. Although American influence has counted heavily in recent years, the American distinction between humanities and social sciences has not yet become a major organizing principle in higher education. In British universities courses of study are broadly classified as arts, pure science, medicine, and technology. Social studies belong in the faculty of arts, which is and feels profoundly separated from the faculty of science, particularly in the large universities.[12] The French pattern also resists differentia-

[12] British Council, *Higher Education in the United Kingdom* (rev. ed., London, 1954), 15;

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tion between social and humanistic studies. The arts faculty, in France usually designated the faculty of letters and human sciences, includes most of the social disciplines, but economics and politics quite illogically come under another jurisdiction, that of the powerful faculty of law.[13] While arrangements vary from one country to another, nowhere do we find the tripartite division into humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences that characterizes the American college.

Similarly, the general agencies that sponsor original inquiry in Britain and France have not, on the whole, distinguished sharply between two ways of studying man. The British Academy was founded to promote "the moral and political sciences, including history, philosophy, law, politics and economics, archaeology and philology," and it still conceives of itself as capable of speaking for the whole world of learning outside of the natural sciences. In addition to this private body, which receives from the crown a modest subsidy for miscellaneous research purposes, Britain has created an array of official research councils and cultural agencies over which presides a single Secretary of State for Education and Science.[14] In France a still more centralized public body, the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique,* is charged with the development of learned research of all kinds. It has two general subdivisions, one for *les sciences exactes,* the other for *les sciences humaines.* The latter groups together thirteen "sections" dealing with culture and society. These "human sciences" are anthropology, classics, economics, geography, history, linguistics, literature, Oriental languages and civilizations, politics and law, sociology, psychology, and philosophy.[15]

It is true that the social sciences in some countries, partly as a result of American influence, have recently developed a corporate identity. In France this appears in certain new research institutes, notably the Sixth Section (*Sciences économiques et sociales*) of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études.* In Britain, just a year ago, the government established a Social Science Research Council under the chairmanship of Michael Young.[16] The notion of "science" as applied in Europe to human affairs, nevertheless, retains a cer-

Oliver C. Carmichael, *Universities, Commonwealth and American: A Comparative Study* (New York, 1959), 352.

[13] United Nations Economic and Social Council, *The University Teaching of Social Sciences: Sociology, Social Psychology, and Anthropology* (Paris, 1954), 199–200.

[14] *Proceedings of the British Academy,* 1903–1904, xii; Lord Robbins, *Presidential Address 7 July 1965* (reprinted from *Proceedings of the British Academy,* LI), 5–7.

[15] British Academy, *Research in the Humanities and the Social Sciences: Report of a Survey, 1958–1960* (London, 1961), 91–95; *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Rapport d'Activité Octobre 1963–Octobre 1964* (Paris, 1965), 22–23.

[16] For background, see Secretary of State for Education and Science, *Report of the Committee on Social Studies* (Parliamentary Papers, cmd. 2660, June 1965); London *Times,* Aug. 6, 1965.

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tain indefiniteness. It may mean, as the term *Wissenschaft* does in German, any organized body of knowledge cultivated for its own sake; whereas "science" to Americans usually suggests something necessarily rigorous and restrictive. In Europe the social sciences have not come under the wing of the natural sciences, as some did in the United States through the National Science Foundation. Nor have European literary and historical scholars forged a competing organization to sustain nonscientific studies. In a rough way it might be said that Europeans distinguish principally between natural science and the study of man, whereas Americans are more likely to draw a sharp boundary between "science" of every sort and "the humanities." Evidently, Americans have designed for themselves a somewhat distinctive map of the geography of high culture, on which social sciences and humanities appear as rival confederations disputing territory they jointly occupy.

This does not mean, of course, that European maps necessarily make better guides for intellectual activity. Europeans tell us, for example, that the relatively strong position in the United States of a body of social sciences, situated intermediately between the natural sciences and the cultural studies, tends to bridge the gulf between the two. Surely there is a certain justice in this observation, in spite of the inclination of some American social scientists to identify themselves exclusively with natural science and the contrary impulse among humanists to disavow both. The European comparison may not yield a superior model, but it enables us to ask why the United States is not truly enjoying the continuity between science and humanism that its eclectic institutions would seem to facilitate.

The question may be sharpened, and answered in part, by some historical perspective. The present cleavage between the humanities and the social sciences is a recent development. Most apparent in the United States, it has materialized only in the twentieth century. Indeed, the very categories of contemporary dispute—the whole vexed issue of defining the humanities and social sciences—played little part in American academic life before the First World War.

In the nineteenth century the great jurisdictional conflict in higher education lay between the defenders of a traditional classical curriculum and the champions of the natural sciences. The social sciences did not enter into the dispute, since they emerged as separate and distinct subjects only toward the end of the century. It was the warfare between classicist and natural scientist that produced the modern conception of humanistic studies. But the head-on clash occurred in England rather than the United States. In this country intellectual categories remained much less clear.

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In the nineteenth century "humanism" or "the humanities" meant primarily an education in the literature and culture of Greece and Rome. That kind of education functioned in England to sustain an aristocratic social order. The leading English schools and universities doggedly enforced the Greek and Latin classics as the main substance of education because those ancient, nonutilitarian subjects supplied the cachet of a gentleman. Against all this, Herbert Spencer and Thomas Huxley spoke for a modern scientific education, and they spoke in tones charged with the grievances of the utility-minded middle classes.[17] American educators also hotly debated the importance of the classics throughout most of the nineteenth century. But the sharp edge of class envy was lacking. Being less exclusive, American colleges more readily diluted the classical program with modern studies, both scientific and literary. In America the principal issue was not "the humanities" versus "the sciences," but rather the opposition between a liberal, well-rounded education and a technical or specialized one. Until the twentieth century American proponents of "liberal culture" eschewed the humanistic label, doubtless to keep clear of its parochial associations.[18]

Still, the intense debate in post-Civil War America over the aims of higher education did involve persistent beliefs that have reappeared in recent disputes between humanists and social scientists. The call for a "liberal education" often rested on an underlying preference for literary culture and a distrust of scientific materialism, while those who regarded research as the main task of the university looked for leadership to the natural sciences. Although this argument has certainly never lapsed, in considerable measure it has taken a new form in the twentieth century. Accepting an uneasy compromise on the over-all goals of the university, the modern humanists and social scientists have created a division between disciplines in an effort to define themselves.

While Americans were building their new universities, educational controversy in England forced a gradual widening of the concept of "the humanities" beyond its primary reference to classical studies. To Matthew Arnold and others like him—wise and flexible defenders of a gentlemanly education—the term "humanities" acquired a secondary, extended meaning

[17] John William Adamson, *English Education, 1789–1902* (Cambridge, Eng., 1930), 70–95, 171–201, 236–57, 295–321, 387–446; R. C. Jebb, *Humanism in Education: The Romanes Lecture, 1899* (London, 1899).

[18] My discussion of the nineteenth century owes much to Laurence Veysey's richly detailed *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago, 1965) and to the author's personal advice. But see also, as an example of an early accommodation between science and a "liberal culture," W. P. Atkinson, "Liberal Education in the Nineteenth Century," *Addresses and Journal of Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1873* (Peoria, Ill., 1873), 141–63.

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that included the whole range of secular subjects treating human experience and culture. Arnold saw that the traditional educational ideal could be saved from the scientific onslaught only by freeing it from narrow class interests and classical molds. Accepting a fundamental dualism, he argued that education should enable "a man to know himself and the world." To know the world, that is, "non-human forces," he should study nature through science. To know himself, that is, "the operation of human force, of human freedom and activity," he should study the humanities. Both are important, but human-centered knowledge should predominate, for it is ethical, social, and aesthetic as well as intellectual.[19] This distinction helped to preserve in Britain the ascendancy of a literary culture. It defined as humanities all subjects that concern man as distinct from physical nature. Thus it kept the social studies under humanistic auspices and somewhat constricted their development.

Although Arnold's influence was widely felt in America, conditions here did not allow so confident or inclusive a definition of the humanities to prevail. The tolerant elective system enabled a premium on specialized, factual knowledge to permeate every field of study, and that blurred the distinctions between humanistic and scientific disciplines. Until after the First World War one finds in the United States only sporadic and casual references to "the humanities." One writer in 1910 commented on "the sharp line of demarcation between the sciences and the 'humanities' so noticeable at the present time."[20] But his examples were English, and his object was to reconcile underlying educational philosophies.

When American academic leaders in the early twentieth century did speak of "the humanities," they tended increasingly to have in mind a third sense of the term, related to Arnold's but significantly narrower. According to President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard and President William Rainey Harper of the University of Chicago, the humanities are "those subjects which represent the culture of the past." Science, therefore, explains the existing world; the humanities preserve our heritage from earlier times.[21] This definition rested partly on the great prestige history acquired in nineteenth-

[19] Matthew Arnold, *Schools and Universities on the Continent,* in *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold,* ed. R. H. Super (5 vols. to date, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1960–65), IV, 290–302; see also "Literature and Science," in *The Portable Matthew Arnold,* ed. Lionel Trilling (New York, 1949), 405–29.

[20] Willystine Goodsell, *The Conflict of Naturalism and Humanism* (New York, 1910), 129, 161–78.

[21] A. Lawrence Lowell, *At War with Academic Traditions in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), 105; William Rainey Harper, *The Trend in Higher Education* (Chicago, 1905), 288; William A. Neilson, "The Inaugural Address of the President of Smith College," *School and Society,* VIII (July 20, 1918), 62–64. Lowell's address dates from 1914.

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century thought. Literature, philosophy, and indeed most of the subjects treating human affairs at the turn of the century were taught historically. The study of history in various forms had superseded the study of the classics as the chief vehicle for enabling man to know himself. Yet the definition of the humanities as historical also exposed a weakness in their American status.

The dangerous feature of the historical approach was its strongly conservative bent. It was too commonly out of touch with the main forces in American life, too much engrossed with continuity and tradition in a land of flux and improvisation. The academic humanists tended therefore to divorce the past from the present. In the early twentieth century the study of literature hardly reached Alfred Tennyson or Robert Browning, the study of philosophy went little beyond G. W. F. Hegel, and the study of history and politics dwelt on the origins of deep-rooted institutions.[22]

As the ideal type of humanistic scholar of the early twentieth century, one thinks of Professor Godfrey St. Peter, so lovingly portrayed in Willa Cather's novel, *The Professor's House* (New York, 1925). Author of an eight-volume *Spanish Adventurers in North America,* St. Peter is an unworldly man of fine scruple, detached from the pushing, materialistic life around him. He cannot bear to leave the dowdy old house in which his great work was written for a shiny new one that threatens to cut him off from a richer past. But what really destroyed the professor's house and snapped his vital link with history was a congeries of events stemming from the First World War. The novel was not only a portrait but an elegy.[23]

Before considering the impact of two world wars on scholarship, it is necessary to turn back briefly to the earlier status of the social sciences in American universities. When the newer social studies emerged into academic respectability toward the end of the nineteenth century, philosophy, history, and an inductive spirit were the diverse parents from which they sprang. For a good while their position in the university was happily vague. The new disciplines had much to do with speculation and ethics on the one hand and with empiricism on the other. Although concerned with the contemporary

[22] John Higham *et al., History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965), 96–97, 158–70; Frank G. Hubbard, "The Undergraduate Curriculum in English Literature," *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* XXIII (No. 2, 1908), 257–64. For philosophy, see Mary Whiton Calkins' famous textbook, *The Persistent Problems of Philosophy* (rev. ed., New York, 1917).

[23] It is instructive to compare Cather's elegiac portrait of the historical scholar with the devastating depiction of a similar personage in Edward Albee's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* Cather's professor has lost power, but retains the capacity to survive and to establish the moral center of his world. A generation later, in Albee's play, the custodian of the past has become empty, futile, and irrelevant.

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world, they were imbued with evolutionist theories and engaged in explaining the historical process. Commenting on their emergence, John Dewey in 1902 saw them as agencies for healing divisions between past and present, between science and culture:

> While the struggle between the classicists and the scientists has been going on, a new body of studies has been gradually making its way, and is now reaching the point of conscious insistence upon its own claims. History, sociology, political science, and political economy may certainly claim to stand for the humanities. Quite as much as any linguistic phenomena, they represent fundamental values of human life. Yet they are the offspring of the scientific method.[24]

Already, in 1890, Edmund J. James, who had charge of the new Wharton School of Finance and Economy at the University of Pennsylvania, had founded the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He was one of the first to conceive of politics, economics, and sociology as an interrelated set of disciplines distinct from other sets. In 1897, in a presidential address to the academy, James advised its members of the practical advantages of striking an independent stance. The "political and social sciences," he argued prophetically, would be better supported in American universities if they would claim as a group to be equal in importance and dignity "to the old historical subjects of university instruction, history, grammar, and philosophy on the one hand, and to the newer subjects grouped under the head of natural sciences on the other." Yet James confessed that the organization of scholarship was in such flux that no one could yet foretell "what the final classification of the sciences is to be."[25]

At the beginning of the twentieth century what Dewey called "a new body of studies" still exhibited little sense of collective identity. Each of them was asserting its own individuality, while all shared with the older disciplines a common style of scholarship. Indeed, the very term "social sciences" was as shadowy and unfamiliar as the term "humanities," and no one had yet thought of contrasting the two. Ever since Auguste Comte and other disciples of the Comte de Saint-Simon had invented the phrase in the 1820's, "social science" had been used in the positivist tradition to designate the quest

[24] John Dewey, *The Educational Situation* (Chicago, 1902), 83–98.

[25] Edmund J. James, "The Place of the Political and Social Sciences in Modern Education," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* X (Nov. 1897), 380–81. How far Americans then were from our present classification of knowledge is indicated by the scheme adopted in 1904 by the Congress of Arts and Science at the St. Louis World's Fair. Strongly influenced by German ideas, the congress divided the "sciences of man" into three main groups: general history, including the history of law, religion, language, literature, and art; the social sciences, including anthropology, psychology, and sociology; and the "practical" studies of economics, politics, education, and religion. (Jurgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship: A Study in the Transfer of Culture* [Ithaca, N. Y., 1965], 208.)

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for natural laws describing the organization of society.[26] In other quarters, however, the phrase had come to mean practical knowledge of community problems: how to cope with epidemics, illiteracy, crime, and the like. In that sense a leading encyclopedia, as late as 1923, called social science a branch of sociology.[27]

Just after World War I, while these categories were still fluid, an opportunity arose for institutionalizing a broad, eclectic spirit in the study of man. Ten American learned societies—including the philosophers, the Orientalists, the economists, the historians, and the sociologists—resolved in September 1919 to create a central body to be called the American Council of Learned Societies Devoted to Humanistic Studies. The initiative came from abroad. An International Union of Academies was forming in Paris. Conceived in European terms as a federation of all *les sciences humaines,* it would embrace "the philological, archaeological, historical, moral, political and social sciences." The Americans needed a national organization of that sort in order to be properly represented. It would also promote research and liaison among the constituent disciplines, in imitation of what the National Research Council was beginning to do for the natural sciences. Two historians took the lead in founding the ACLS: Charles Homer Haskins, Harvard's famous medievalist, and Waldo G. Leland, secretary of the American Historical Association, organized the preliminary meeting, and Leland wrote the constitution.[28] They were acting out the ascendancy history still enjoyed in the study of man.

One might have expected in 1919 that a sense of common interests among the "learned societies devoted to humanistic studies" would evolve into a general intellectual partnership. Instead the reverse occurred. In spite of (and even in a way because of) growing uneasiness over the fragmentation of

[26] Georg G. Iggers, "Further Remarks about Early Uses of the Term 'Social Science,'" *Journal of the History of Ideas,* XX (June–Sept. 1959), 433–36; J. H. Burns, "J. S. Mill and the Term 'Social Science,'" *ibid.,* 431–32. A key figure in this tradition was Henry C. Carey; his *Principles of Social Science* (3 vols., Philadelphia, 1858–59) inspired Robert E. Thompson, who became professor of social science at the University of Pennsylvania and published *Social Science and National Economy* (Philadelphia, 1875).

[27] *Encyclopedia Americana* (30 vols., New York, 1923), XXV, 187. See also *The International Cyclopedia* (15 vols., New York, 1900), XIII, 608, and Andrew Dixon White, *Instruction in Social Science* (n.p., 1891). But around 1910 and after, an increasing consciousness of the importance and potential unity of the social sciences becomes evident in such writings as Albion W. Small, *The Meaning of Social Science* (Chicago, 1910), and A. B. Wolfe, "The Place of the Social Sciences in College Education," *Educational Review,* XXXVIII (June 1909), 58–84.

[28] Waldo G. Leland, "The Organization of the International Union of Academies and of the American Council of Learned Societies," *ACLS Bulletin* (Oct. 1920), 1–7; "The American Council of Learned Societies," *American Historical Review,* XXV (Apr. 1920), 440–47; Waldo G. Leland to Conyers Read, Jan. 9, 1933, Files of the American Historical Association, 1933–37, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

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scholarship, the humanities and the social sciences parted company, and each group defined itself as exclusive of the other. Premonitions of the schism had appeared among historians in the years just before the war, as they began to quarrel over the extent to which they should ally themselves with social scientists, a dispute reflecting a new awareness that the social sciences were no longer clearly allied to them.[29] In the general academic community the split proceeded so rapidly that a survey of *Research in the Humanistic and Social Sciences,* published in 1928, began with an apology for its divided title:

> The term "humanity" ought to suffice; properly understood, it of course embraces the social sciences equally with linguistics, literature, and archaeology. The rapid development of economics, political science, and kindred disciplines in the past twenty years has, however, led to a habit, at least among social scientists, of limiting "humanities" to the older "cultural" studies.[30]

Soon the habit became too deeply ingrained for apology. Instead, there developed in the 1930's and after an affirmation and institutionalization of distinctive roles. Reorganization of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1928 resulted in a Division of Humanities and a separate Division of Social Sciences. During the following decade many colleges and universities followed suit. Frequently they added humanities courses, programs, and comprehensive examinations.[31] In 1945 Harvard's enormously influential report, *General Education in a Free Society,* cast its recommendations in the framework of a threefold division between natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities. According to the Harvard committee, the separation was justified by academic tradition (how rapidly innovation becomes tradition in the United States!) and by a difference in the type of thinking characteristic of each area.[32]

The initiative behind the schism came mostly from the social scientists. During the 1920's political science, economics, sociology, and closely related fields entered a phase of ambitious growth. Their younger leaders forged a common identity exclusive of the students of literature, art, philosophy, and most historians, and that produced a defensive, self-conscious

[29] Higham *et al., History,* 104–16.

[30] Frederick A. Ogg, *Research in the Humanistic and Social Sciences* (New York, 1928), 3–4.

[31] Raymond B. Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation* (New York, 1952), 138; Patricia Beesley, *The Revival of the Humanities in American Education* (New York, 1940); Harold B. Dunkel, *General Education in the Humanities* (Washington, D. C., 1947); Russell Thomas, *The Search for a Common Learning: General Education, 1800–1960* (New York, 1962), 64–73, 84–86.

[32] *General Education in a Free Society: Report of the Harvard Committee* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), 58–63, 67.

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reaction within the older disciplines. The chief act of secession was the formation in 1923 of the Social Science Research Council. Several of the learned societies already represented in the ACLS constituted the new council. Though most of them remained titular members of the ACLS, the SSRC was much better financed and more tightly knit, and for all save the historians it quickly became far more consequential. The historians who were trying to breathe life into the ACLS pleaded with Charles Merriam, the founder of the Social Science Research Council, not to disrupt a united effort of "the whole group of the humanistic sciences." But Merriam had a program that would render the very idea of "humanistic sciences" obsolete.[33]

At the core of the social science movement of the 1920's was a new ideal of organized, collaborative research. In the projects of the SSRC, the Brookings Institution, and similar agencies, the watchword was interdisciplinary cooperation, *but only between social scientists*. Through teamwork, interdisciplinary conferences, and the like, scholars solidified an image of themselves as social scientists and gave their loyalty to the dream of an integrated science of man. Within a decade of the founding of the SSRC the first approximation of the dream was appearing: a monumental *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. The opening sentence of its preface sounded the theme song of the whole intellectual movement: "It is only in comparatively recent years that the interdependence of the social sciences has come to be recognized as a concept necessary to their progress."[34]

It was not just organization that cut social scientists off from humanistic scholars; it was also aim. Such men as Merriam, John B. Watson, the behavioristic psychologist, Paul Lazarsfeld, the pioneer of public opinion surveys, and Karl Llewellyn, the legal realist, wanted to create a pure science of behavior.[35] That science would have to rid itself of any taint of the Euro-

[33] Barry Dean Karl, *Executive Reorganization and Reform in the New Deal: The Genesis of Administrative Management, 1900–1939* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 46. The SSRC desired the participation of the American Historical Association from the outset. After holding out for two years, the AHA came in; the financial resources the council was attracting by 1925 made further aloofness distinctly impolitic. Historians have always fared well in the distribution of individual fellowships and research grants by the SSRC; they rarely participated in its collaborative projects. The council found it difficult to relate history to the other disciplines, at least partly because of the changes those disciplines were undergoing. (See correspondence of Leland, 1924–26, in AHA Files; Roy F. Nichols, "History and the Social Science Research Council," *American Historical Review*, L (Apr. 1945), 491–99; R. D. Challener and Maurice Lee, Jr., "History and the Social Sciences: The Problem of Communications," *ibid.*, LXI (Jan. 1956), 331–38.

[34] *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (15 vols., New York, 1930–35), I, xvii. On the formation of the SSRC and the development of the social sciences in the 1920's, see Fosdick, *Rockefeller Foundation*, 194–99; Herbert Heaton, *A Scholar in Action: Edwin F. Gay* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), 206–209; Bernard Crick, *The American Science of Politics: Its Origins and Conditions* (Berkeley, Calif., 1959), 137 ff.

[35] In addition to Crick's somewhat lurid account, see Wilfrid E. Rumble, Jr., "Legal

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pean, "humanistic" propensity toward speculative thought or normative judgment. It would have to eliminate values from the actual process of inquiry, though they might properly guide the initial selection of problems and the utilization of conclusions.[36] Certainly not every one who called himself a social scientist coveted neutrality, precision, and quantified abstraction to the same degree. In each discipline "soft" approaches coexisted with "hard" ones. Among anthropologists, particularly, the poetry and passion of human experience remained vividly alive, and most of the major figures in American sociology—in contrast to the rank and file—retained important humanistic components.[37] The primary goal for more and more social scientists was, nevertheless, rigor, the compelling task, a refinement of methodology. This trend, emerging strongly during the interwar period, reached a crest in the 1950's.

A puristic spirit, narrowing social science to a study of what man is, took hardly more account of what he had been than of what he ought to be. The new social science movement not only excluded the normative, but also tended to expel the historical from the center of interest. In part, this present-mindedness was dictated by the methodological quest for rigor. Contemporary data, collected under controlled conditions, readily amenable to statistical manipulation, were orderly, precise, and thus much superior to the helter-skelter materials left by the past. Scientism and antihistoricism frequently went hand in hand.

In a larger sense many social scientists doubtless shared in the indifference, if not outright hostility, of the modern temper toward the past itself. Discarding an evolutionary framework for the study of society, they immersed themselves in the phenomena of immediate experience partly because they were coming to doubt the relevance of historical continuities to a world transformed. They were caught up during the twenties, thirties, and forties in a wide-reaching desire for emancipation from tradition, precedent, and outmoded forms. Against the dry, aloof historicism prevalent in several disciplines, against for example the ACLS's neglect of the contemporary and preoccupation with such tools of historical scholarship as a paleographical

Realism, Sociological Jurisprudence and Mr. Justice Holmes," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* XXVI (Oct.–Dec. 1965), 547–66; Floyd W. Matson, *The Broken Image: Man, Science, and Society* (New York, 1964), 47–65; Edward A. Shils, "The Contemplation of Society in America," in *Paths of American Thought,* ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger and Morton G. White (Boston, 1963), 392–410.

[36] Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What? The Place of Social Science in American Culture* (Princeton, N. J., 1939), 183–84; David Easton, "Shifting Images of Social Science and Values," *Antioch Review,* XV (Spring 1955), 3–18.

[37] But see Eric R. Wolf's perceptive account of recent changes in this respect in *Anthropology* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1964).

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guide to Latin manuscripts,[38] against a past detached from the present, the would-be scientists flung themselves into a present sundered from the past. In England, France, and elsewhere, social scientists never broke so sharply from history and thus never achieved so distinctive an identity.[39]

Meanwhile in America the rising prestige, the brash self-confidence, and the strong corporate spirit of the new type of social scientist threw traditional scholars on the defensive. Among some, a tendency that had lingered in the classical tradition of education to disparage science as "merely" instrumental was greatly sharpened. Irving Babbitt and Paul Elmer More won a considerable following in the 1920's for their "New Humanism," an intensely antiscientific polemic against modern culture. They championed an education based on the wisdom of the past in order to check the disruptive effects of scientific and social experiment.[40] Other scholars turned in the opposite direction, seeking to reform their respective disciplines sufficiently to qualify as scientists themselves. Under the leadership of I. A. Richards, some literary scholars began to apply systematically the principles of psychology to the experience of literature. In philosophy John Dewey's program, designed to put all judgments on an experimentalist basis, prepared the way for the emergence in the 1930's of a still stricter logical positivism. Among historians a vigorous minority tried to convert themselves and their colleagues into full-fledged, up-to-date social scientists.[41] In each of these disciplines, and in linguistics as well, the reformers abandoned or at least foreshortened the historical matrix of earlier scholarship. Perhaps never before had the cleavages within each discipline become so pronounced.

By the 1930's a third response to the confusion and the loss of initiative materialized. A campaign developed to redefine the humanities in a way that would stress their positive moral relevance to contemporary life. As early as 1933 we find Leland, president of the ACLS, accepting the division between social sciences and humanities, and taking satisfaction that the formation of the SSRC enabled the ACLS to devote itself entirely to the humanities,

[38] Waldo G. Leland, "The American Council of Learned Societies and Its Relation to Humanistic Studies," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* LXXI (No. 4, 1932), 179–89.

[39] Of course the twentieth-century revolt against history has been international, as Hayden V. White shows in "The Burden of History," *History and Theory,* V (No. 2, 1966), 113–22. But about the academic community the European writers whom White quotes tell us nothing, unless it may be that their very violence suggests the great extent to which history has continued in Europe to represent the burden of culture.

[40] Babbitt's program remained essentially unchanged from the publication of his first collection of essays, *Literature and the American College* (Boston, 1908). It was only in the 1920's, however, that he attracted the kind of aggressive following that could constitute a significant intellectual movement.

[41] Walter Sutton, *Modern American Criticism* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1963), 6–20, 175–218; Morton G. White, *Religion, Politics, and the Higher Learning: A Collection of Essays* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 54–55; Higham *et al., History,* 117–20, 138.

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since they deal with "the manifestations of man's spiritual existence."[42] Two years later the Rockefeller Foundation launched a new program to "bring the values of the humanities more directly into contact with daily living" in the hope of contributing to "a spiritual renaissance." In 1940 a doctoral candidate at Teachers College, Columbia University, published a monograph on "the sudden dramatic revival" of a term that now denoted "a field comparable in breadth to the Social Sciences and the Natural Sciences. . . ." "On every hand today," the editor's foreword stated, "—in the press, the radio, the school—we are called upon to defend 'the Humanities'. . . ."[43] In the 1940's a torrent of books and articles with such titles as *The Meaning of the Humanities,* "The Future of the Humanities," "The Humanities Begin to Fight," *The Rebirth of Liberal Education,* or *Education at the Crossroads* poured from the presses. The stream has persisted sufficiently to convince an amused English observer, Professor David Daiches, that a strenuous defense of the humanities goes on all the time in America.[44]

These apologetics differ from more sporadic references to the humanities in the early twentieth century not only in volume but in emphasis. No longer did a "rich heritage" seem the chief gift of the humanities. Above all, they are said to offer a "liberating" knowledge of choice, preference, and taste. "The element common to the humanities," the apologists have agreed, "is their common concern with values."[45] Consequently, such words as "spiritual," "moral," "humanizing," "human dignity," "valuation," "design for living," and "broad vision" recur continually.

In the last three or four decades many professors have endeavored to live up to the claim by enlarging their evaluative skills. Under the tyranny of fact that ruled the study of history and literature in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, scholars took values for granted. Characteristically, they assumed that investigation of circumstances and events would of itself lead to conclusions about merit. Since then an increasing number of academic humanists have embraced the act of evaluation as their major task. To some

[42] Waldo G. Leland, "Recent Trends in the Humanities," *Science,* LXXIX (Mar. 30, 1934), 281–82; see also Abraham Flexner, *The Burden of Humanism* (Oxford, Eng., 1928).

[43] Fosdick, *Rockefeller Foundation,* 239–42; Beesley, *Revival of the Humanities,* vii, 3.

[44] *The Meaning of the Humanities: Five Essays,* ed. Theodore M. Greene (Princeton, N. J., 1938); William A. Neilson, "The Future of the Humanities," *Harper's Magazine,* CLXXXVI (Mar. 1943), 388–91; Dorothy Hall Smith, "The Humanities Begin to Fight," *School and Society,* LVIII (Dec. 25, 1943), 481–84; C. J. Ducasse, "Are the Humanities Worth Their Keep?" *American Scholar,* VI (Oct. 1937), 460–70; Stuart G. Brown, "War and the Humanities," *Virginia Quarterly Review,* XVIII (Apr. 1942), 260–66; *A State University Surveys the Humanities,* ed. Loren MacKinney (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1945); Fred B. Millett, *The Rebirth of Liberal Education* (New York, 1945); Jacques Maritain, *Education at the Crossroads* (New Haven, Conn., 1943); David H. Stevens, *The Changing Humanities: An Appraisal of Old Values and New Uses* (New York, 1953); David Daiches, *English Literature* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965), 153–55.

[45] Millett, *Rebirth,* 135.

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leading historians, interpretive judgment conditioned by present needs has become a legitimate—indeed a pre-eminent—function. In the study of literature the New Criticism and a fresh social criticism broke the dominion of literary history.[46] Avid interest in criticism, particularly of modern, living writers, led in turn to assimilation of novelists and poets, then artists and musicians, men whose whole business is the projection of values, as regular members of university faculties.

Yet the claim of a special status for the humanities as value-laden disciplines was excessive, even transparent. For one thing, there has never been the slightest agreement about the proper role of values in any field. In spite of all efforts to practice what the apologists were preaching, a great legion of scholars in every discipline still shrank from making explicit, deliberate judgments about merit. Some supposedly humanistic fields, notably philosophy, actually became in the 1940's more antiseptic—more skeptically critical of all value judgments—than ever before, and in every field an ideal of objective neutrality has remained strong.

For another thing, in the realm usually reserved for the social sciences, value statements occupy far too important a place to be assigned so distinctively to the humanities. Americans have grown accustomed to talking as if qualitative appraisal and choice reside more properly in the study of language than in the study of politics, as if they belong more suitably to the criticism of music than to the criticism of society. Partly as a result of this disjunction, American academic life produces, along with a vast amount of aesthetic judgment, a paucity of expert social and moral judgment.

The rise of so misleading a conception of the humanities may be explained in considerable measure as a defensive strategy to protect and comfort those who felt left behind by the emergence of an organized social science group. But the kind of defense and its timing also suggest deep uneasiness about the state of values at a particular juncture in American history. The impassioned defense of the humanities as the repository of values may be traced directly to the 1920's and sharply intensified in the 1940's; it clearly reflected the moral and intellectual turmoil two world wars unleashed.

In the aftermath of the atomic apocalypse, it is easy to forget how deeply the First World War shook the confidence of sensitive people in the stability and humaneness of their civilization. The submarine and poison gas, es-

[46] Willard Thorp, "Exodus: Four Decades of American Literary Scholarship," *Modern Language Quarterly,* XXVI (Mar. 1965), 40–61. In the field of art history James Ackerman sees a lagging but necessary movement in the same direction. (James S. Ackerman and Rhys Carpenter, *Art and Archaeology* [Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1963], 139–41, 187–95.)

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pecially, gave a shocking demonstration of how science could be put to immoral ends if its advances were not somehow matched by a deliberate cultivation of values.[47] Thus, when the threat of totalitarianism aroused American intellectuals to a great need for moral rearmament in the 1930's and 1940's, it built upon an already awakened sense of imbalance between power and principle in modern life. Appeals for revitalizing the humanities typically associated the increasing threat of political tyranny and brutality with a mechanized, scientific efficiency. The humanistic scholar would have to defend "human values against war abroad and against socio-economic and scientific-naturalistic fatalism at home."[48] The desire for spiritual guidance from the humanities clearly reflected these interlocking concerns.

Now times have changed. America has certainly not outlived the anxieties of the period from 1917 to the early 1950's, but the crisis atmosphere of those years has clearly abated. Fears of an imminent breakdown of civilization no longer obsess us. We have survived too much and have learned from the experience of survival to appreciate the mixture of toughness and flexibility in our culture. The dream of producing an integrated, immaculate social science has given way to much more modest, carefully delimited expectations, which permit the quantification of knowledge to proceed more widely and soundly than before; and the compensatory vision of the humanities as the organized conscience of Academia has correspondingly dimmed. At a time when the whole professoriate—humanists as well as scientists—has become powerful, privileged, and affluent, the question of its moral center is posed in an altogether new way.[49] Thus, the conditions that produced the great schism in American scholarship have substantially altered.

How much the schism itself is healing remains uncertain. In some ways it is less pronounced than it was a decade ago. On the institutional side the Rockefeller Foundation recently merged its Humanities and Social Sciences Divisions. The ACLS, after undergoing two reorganizations between 1946 and 1956, no longer adopts a superior attitude toward the modern or the mundane. It collaborates easily and effectively with the SSRC on a whole range of matters. Perhaps some "disciplines" are also becoming more

[47] Andrew F. West, "The Humanities after the War," *Educational Review,* LVII (Feb. 1919), 141–43; William Osler, *The Old Humanities and the New Science* (Boston, 1920), 10–11.

[48] Beesley, *Revival of the Humanities,* vii; Roscoe Pound, "The Fight for Intellectual Freedom," *Vital Speeches,* V (Mar. 15, 1939), 342. How these feelings affected one field of scholarship is demonstrated in Robert Skotheim, *American Intellectual Histories and Historians* (Princeton, N. J., 1966).

[49] David Riesman, "Innovation and Reaction in Higher Education," in *Humanistic Education and Western Civilization: Essays for Robert M. Hutchins,* ed. Arthur A. Cohen (New York, 1964), 182–205.

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hospitable to methodological diversity. Analytic philosophy, some authorities report, is overcoming the excessive rigor of a few years ago.[50] Meanwhile, an increasing number of historians are learning to think in more systematic, problem-oriented terms, and in the social sciences some leading men—Kenneth Boulding, David Riesman, David McClelland, Seymour Lipset, and Erik Erickson, to name only a few—are recovering a genuinely historical dimension. It is now fashionable to deplore rivalry between the three cultures. Yet the institutions, nomenclatures, and habits of mind produced by their cleavage persist. No one has yet found an organized strategy for hastening their demise.

To sum up: The humanities as we know them today in America comprise no meaningful or coherent entity. To conceive of them still as distinct from the social sciences in the exercise of qualitative judgment is to perpetuate stereotypes colored by the dislocations of a generation ago. The current definition of a humanist arose chiefly as a reaction against the self-conscious exclusiveness of a new breed of social scientist. It was an effort to establish a countervailing identity. The identity was always artificial; it has become an encumbrance.

We know by now that no group of disciplines has a monopoly on values or on measurement. The intellectual commerce we perhaps need most today spans the divide we have created between humanities and social sciences. Our existing categories tend to deprive some disciplines, notably history, of analytic abstraction; they discourage others, such as social psychology, from acquiring historical complexity. As a result of the great schism, by and large, we still assign much too low a priority to evaluative finesse in the social sciences and to criteria for measurement in the humanities. Consequently, we have too little "art" in one camp, too little "science" in the other, and not enough breadth of mind in either.

Will the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, by linking the humanities with the arts, further institutionalize the breach in American scholarship? One is not reassured to discover in the 1964 Report of the Commission on the Humanities, which proposed the new law, and in the following congressional hearings, all the old bromides about the mission of the humanities: enriching experience, understanding enduring values, and so forth. One possibility for a kind of break-through is suggested by the phrase in the new law that includes within the jurisdiction of the foundation "those aspects of the social sciences which have humanistic content and employ hu-

[50] Norman S. Care, "Is Philosophy Dead Too?" *New Republic,* CLIV (May 21, 1966), 23–26.

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manistic methods." This phrase, construed in terms of the value emphasis in recent definitions of the humanistic, should mean support for qualitative thinking about the great collective problems of human destiny. It points to sponsorship of social criticism and morally committed policy studies instead of the carefully abstracted, noncontroversial, "basic research" subsidized by the National Science Foundation.

But the first statement of policy issued by the National Endowment for the Humanities indicates that it too will cautiously avoid troubled waters. In spite of further lofty talk about "the values inherent in the humanities," the endowment seemed intent on sticking with safe, noncontroversial projects like museums and definitive editions of important American writers.[51] Doubtless one should not expect much more from an agency that must live in fear of the wrath of Congress. It would be pleasant if some *deus ex machina*—some great foundation or endowment—would supply the initiative for a serious revision of priorities and relationships in the study of man. In all likelihood, however, the academic world will have to reconstitute itself.

[51] National Endowment for the Humanities, "Statement by Dr. Henry Allen Moe, Chairman" (released for publication on Mar. 20, 1966).

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Science and Symbol in the Turner Frontier Hypothesis

WILLIAM COLEMAN*

HISTORICAL understanding and national mythology have been generously enriched by Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier hypothesis. Turner's thesis permitted him to explain the formation of national character, ever an evanescent quality, and to attribute that which was peculiarly American to curious frontier conditions. In studying American history, Turner urged, we have no longer to do with a narrative of events and personalities, but must henceforth "deal with the formation and expansion of the American people, the composition of the population, their institutions, their economic life, and their fundamental assumptions—what we may call the American spirit. . . ."[1]

The frontier, we have assumed, including many of us remote from professional concern with American history, virtually created the American nation. Here was a new state, one characterized by a distinctive and very probably unique form of society. The frontier had made the famed melting pot boil and produced from widely disparate incoming peoples a new people, one speaking English but not of the British nation. It was a nationalizing force, compelling American traders and manufacturers to look less to Europe and more to the needs of the unusual civilization arising in their western hinterland. Turner's frontier dissolved older forms of society and generated from their ruins new institutions more appropriate to those liberty-loving individuals called Americans. The American, ample testimony confirmed, was a "new man." He had conquered a land at once beautiful and wild and rich beyond compare. His temperament was strong and his nature inquisitive; he was practical and uncommonly energetic; fierce devotion to the defense of liberty and to the cause of democracy was essential to his character.[2] No

* Mr. Coleman, an associate professor of the history of science at Johns Hopkins University, is interested in the history of biology, particularly evolution and morphology in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His publications include *Georges Cuvier, Zoologist: A Study in the History of Evolution Theory* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964).

[1] Frederick Jackson Turner, "Problems in American History [1904]," in *The Significance of Sections in American History* (New York, 1932), 8. On Turner and national character, see David M. Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago, 1954), 7.

[2] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), 37.

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one better represented the new man than Andrew Jackson, whose name Turner proudly carried. The first President from the West, Jackson stood for "backwoods society. . . . All its rudeness, and rashness, its vehemence and its daring, its democracy and its nationalism, were personified in this backwoods leader of men." Together with Lincoln, another westerner, Jackson was "perhaps the most distinctively American of our national heroes."[3]

What was this thing, or place, or process called the frontier? Unhappily Turner offered several descriptions, but no single definition. One sense of the frontier was given by a measure of population density, less than two people per square mile being considered empty or, in Turner's famous phrase, "free land."[4] Unoccupied land, much of it covered with rich soil, delimited the furthest edge of settlement and the site of subsequent civilization. Frontier, then, might mean open space, lands disposed to settlement, lands that were always cheap and frequently free. Beyond the frontier there was no civilization. As the frontier passed over an area the usual sequence of stages of social transformation was set in progress, and a new and thoroughly American component of society emerged. Hence, frontier could also mean disruption or change or evolution. It was not only a geographic and economic term, but referred to the central dynamic of American history, the creation of a new society in a virgin land. The frontier as process stood universal and omnipotent.

The frontier evidently transformed man and society. It answered well the "central question" in Turner's historical thinking: "How does civilization march?"[5] In the concept of the frontier Turner found the dynamic of historical change in America, a dynamic tied to a seemingly peculiar American phenomenon, the unsettled West, and to a complex of forces narrowly related to prevailing hopes and opinion. The frontier was, first of all, a poetically charged image. It was, in addition, one whose very effectiveness depended upon generalizations drawn from biology and geography. Turner's thesis assumed the essential plasticity of man and society and demanded that upon them the environment exerted an irresistible and unseen influence. What is unique in America could only be the product of uniquely American conditions; these conditions Turner discovered in the wonderful physiographic variety of the North American continent. The vocabulary of the Turnerian argument and its conceptual content parallel closely the major

[3] *Frederick Jackson Turner's Legacy: Unpublished Writings in American History*, ed. Wilbur R. Jacobs (San Marino, Calif., 1965), 164.

[4] Turner, "Significance of the Frontier in American History," 3.

[5] Carl Becker, "Frederick Jackson Turner," in *Everyman His Own Historian* (New York, 1935), 213.

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themes of the then new science of evolutionary human geography. The early systems of human geography and the frontier thesis both adopt, moreover, the metaphor of the social organism, and they each expand the arguments of the greatest of biological environmentalists, the French naturalist Jean Baptiste de Lamarck.

More explicitly, the present essay argues the following points:[6] Active elements within the frontier hypothesis took their origin from contemporary scientific thought. Why and how the social organism might bend to the demands of a new environment Turner answered in patently biological terms. It was a variation on the post-Darwinian evolutionary themes, furthermore, that permitted Turner to stress the innovative effect of the frontier and also to adhere modestly to the nascent reform movement of the 1890's. Turner's essential pessimism concerning the future of American democratic institutions once the frontier was irreversibly closed he partially tempered by continuing to adhere to the very forces that had made the frontier operative. But the environment now must be wisely guided by those whom it surrounded, the Americans. The wilderness was gone, to be replaced by civilization, and to Turner this astonishing circumstance was at once a cause for pride, caution, and profound malaise.

Melancholy better expresses the tone of Turner's writings. The frontier had done a noble work: it had created a free and prosperous nation. But this splendid creation, and indeed the very process of creation, had been sufficient cause for the destruction of the frontier. To this unfortunate event Turner could not remain indifferent. In one sense the American environment was to him but the economic condition for nation building. In a deeper sense, however, Turner saw there the essential fecundity of primal

[6] Gene M. Gressley, "The Turner Thesis—A Problem in Historiography," *Agricultural History,* XXXII (Oct. 1958), 227–49, assesses the vast literature on Turner, the frontier thesis, and Turnerian disputes. He also reviews later interpretations and uses of Turner's hypothesis, subjects not directly pertinent to this paper. Particularly useful discussions of Turner's relation to contemporary thought and events include: Sveaas Anderson, *Westward Is the Course of Empires* (Oslo, 1956); Roland H. Beck, *Die Frontier Theorie von Frederick Jackson Turner* (Zurich, 1955); Lee Benson, "The Historical Background of Turner's Frontier Theory," *Agricultural History,* XXV (Apr. 1951), 59–82; Harvey Wish, "Turner and the Moving Frontier," in *The American Historian: A Social-Intellectual History of the American Past* (New York, 1960), 181–208; and Robert F. Berkhofer, "Space, Time, Culture and the New Frontier," *Agricultural History,* XXXVIII (Jan. 1964), 21–30. Biographical details concerning Turner are given by Fulmer Mood, "The Development of Frederick Jackson Turner as a Historical Thinker," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts,* XXXIV (1943), 281–352, and "Turner's Formative Period," in *Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner* (Madison, Wis., 1938), 3–39; and Jacobs' introduction to *Turner's Legacy,* ed. Jacobs, 1–42. Jacobs and Ray A. Billington describe the Turner manuscript collection in "The Frederick Jackson Turner Papers in the Huntington Library," *Arizona and the West,* II (Spring 1960), 73–77. A somewhat incomplete bibliography of Turner's published writings is given by Everett E. Edwards in *Early Writings,* 233–72.

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and undisturbed nature, the mystery and beauty of a vast and living wilderness, and the unparalleled tragedy that marked its destruction as America, and Turner, came of age. The argument, therefore, illustrates how Turner, having transferred a biological mechanism of change to the realm of human society and historical development, superimposed over his composition the symbol of the forest and infused the entire conception of the frontier with a persuasive but uncloying romantic sensibility.[7]

The metaphor of the social organism provided the central theme of the frontier hypothesis. The biological sciences have always proved a rich source of metaphor. During the nineteenth century no metaphor was so striking or so compelling as the image of the social organism, of society as a living, self-perpetuating integral and adaptable totality.[8] A virtue of metaphor, including that of the social organism, is to suspend strict logical exposition. The writer may call upon the "associated system of commonplaces" known to himself and to his audience and may assume that the latter shares a certain sympathy or familiarity with his own preconceptions.[9] Indeed, his preconceptions may well be shared by society at large. Much of the explanatory effectiveness of metaphorical language depends upon this common fund of truisms, for not only does the metaphor provoke attention by startling the understanding, but it compels the reader or listener to pursue at some length the consequences implicit in the associations compressed into the metaphor. Context and commonplaces reassure the reader and convince him that he comprehends the author's narrative and its connections. Metaphor may therefore express and perpetuate the assumptions and prejudices of the day and suggest, however inexactly, that its terms are sufficient for ordinary explanation.

The social organism was an adaptable metaphor, and its expression was, of course, a function of an author's intentions and prior assumptions. The generation of Turner's teachers favored the "germ theory" of history. Society, organism that it was, required some vital connection among all its temporal and spatial manifestations. Nothing filled this need so well as the social germ, conceived in strict analogy to the generative products of living creatures. "Biology no longer favors the theory of spontaneous generation,"

[7] See Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (New York, 1957).

[8] See Francis W. Coker, *Organismic Theories of the State: Nineteenth-Century Interpretations of the State as Organism and as Person* (New York, 1910).

[9] See Max Black, "Metaphor," in *Models and Metaphors* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1962), 25–47; and M. A. McCloskey, "Metaphors," *Mind*, LXIII (Apr. 1964), 215–33.

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exclaimed Herbert Baxter Adams, a vocal advocate of the new theory of historical connection. The Johns Hopkins professor continued: "It is just as improbable that free local institutions should spring up without a germ along American shores as that English wheat should have grown here without planting."[10] Peoples and institutions seemed comparable to biological germs. Historical continuity, the climax of nineteenth-century evolutionary historical thought, was ensured by the propagation of social germs. A special form of this argument was developed by certain British and American historians, working under the inspiration of German models. They declared that social germs were translated from the forests of medieval Germany to England, and at a later date this same self-perpetuating association of people and institutions crossed the Atlantic and germinated in the rich soil of the New World. These admirable Aryan germs, it was claimed, were the real cause of American liberties and democracy. Virile Anglo-Saxons came to agree that genuine democracy and bold individualism had originated in the remote German forests. The American experience was therefore nothing truly extraordinary, being but the unfolding of the familiar Teutonic germ in a new land.

Even the most enthusiastic germ theorists, however, expressed reservations about the proposal. Edward Augustus Freeman, whose own studies concerned the English era in the German-American lineage, conceded that "geographical position has often had something to do with forming the national character."[11] Adams allowed that social germs required favorable soil for germination; hence, environmental conditions were not irrelevant to history. William Francis Allen at Wisconsin was only a moderate exponent of the germ theory, although it was probably he who first had suggested its relevance to American history.[12]

Turner, student of both Allen and Adams, reversed the emphasis of the germ theory. He thereby recast the ancient metaphor and discovered in the social organism the very terms that assured the uniqueness of American historical development. European germs might account for America's "early history," but, Turner added, the germ theory had already received sufficient emphasis. The "peculiarity of American institutions," the historians' real

[10] Herbert Baxter Adams, *The Germanic Origin of New England Towns* (Baltimore, 1882), 8. The reader should note that the germ theory of history derives less from Louis Pasteur's germ theory of disease than from the associated biological conception of the generative continuity of life. Such continuity is assured among higher organisms by the sexual products or "germ cells."

[11] Edward Augustus Freeman, *The Historical Geography of Europe* (2 vols., London, 1881), I, 11.

[12] See Edward Norman Saveth, *American Historians and European Immigrants, 1875–1925* (New York, 1948), 13–31.

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quest, lies not in their remote Teutonic ancestry but in "the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people."[13] Conventional study of the condition of man and society, at least in North America, might therefore uncover some particular stage in the continuity of history, but it failed to answer the truly interesting and important question of the origin of social or historical novelty, that is, the genesis of the American nation. It was not the identifiable germ of future generations that crossed the Atlantic, but rather man and his institutions in their customary malleable form. Man did not merely occupy his new habitat; he interacted with it and was modified by it. The social organism became an almost literal creature, one capable of both altering the environment and submitting to its demands, and acquiring in the process a new structure and temperament. American society was created in America and, overwhelmingly, on the frontier; it was not born from translated, ancient germs.

To effect the required social transformation Turner had recourse to the scientist. In his imagination Turner knew that each age produced a poet representative of its achievement. William Shakespeare, John Milton, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow he praised, but his eye was upon his own generation. Clearly, he proclaimed, "the age is magnificent," only "it is the poets who are wanting." The modern splendor was science, science that had rediscovered the world and found there life and new meaning. Today it is "Nature [who] is calling for her poet!"[14] The scientist was perhaps the truest modern poet, and so, too, was the historian a poet of a not inferior species. Both were interpreters, and both did well to appreciate the present condition of nature and its phenomena, as well as that of man and society. *"Each age,"* runs the often quoted Turner dictum,

[13] Turner long favored the germ theory, supporting Adams against William Gladstone's opinion that the US Constitution was among the greatest original productions of the "brain and purpose of man." Instead, Turner held, "our history is only to be understood as a growth from European history under the new conditions of the New World." (Turner, "The Significance of History," in *Early Writings,* 64.) The following year, however, his viewpoint shifted. He allowed New World conditions greater potency, and these began to be his major consideration. (Turner, "Problems in American History [1892]," *ibid.,* 71–83.) The new orientation owed much to E. J. Payne's *History of the New World Called America* (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1892), an extraordinary work by a categorical environmental determinist. In the frontier essay itself the germ theory is given a role clearly secondary to that of the environment. "Our early history is the study of European germs developing in an American environment. Too exclusive attention has been paid by institutional students to the Germanic origins, too little to the American factors." (Turner, "Significance of the Frontier in American History," 3.) Turner's well-known and admitted (W. H. Stephenson, "The Influence of Woodrow Wilson on Frederick Jackson Turner," *Agricultural History,* XIX [Oct. 1945], 252) reaction against the germ theory meant therefore not a total rejection of the notion but a demand for renewed investigation of forces that would be peculiarly American. (Cf. Smith, *Virgin Land,* 295, n. 3.)

[14] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Poet of the Future," *University Press,* XIV (May 26, 1883), 4–5.

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"writes the history of the past anew with reference to the conditions uppermost in its own time."[15] In this decisive paragraph of his historical credo Turner noted that historians now agree with Johann Gottfried von Herder that "society grows" and have accepted Auguste Comte's contention that "society is an organism." "History is," Turner therefore decided, "the biography of society in all its departments." Biography is the story of life, of the individual and of society. The frontier hypothesis thus concerns a living entity, one whose constant adjustment to environmental challenges is best described and even explained in biological terms.

Turner was remarkably well informed in the sciences, particularly in biology and physiography. At the University of Wisconsin he pursued with great distinction courses in zoology, botany, physics, and chemistry.[16] Quite probably during his year of study in Baltimore (1888–1889) he was introduced to the need and means of employing geography in the study of history. Adams' famous Seminary included a geographical and statistical "bureau," containing large collections of maps, geographical manuals, and United States and foreign census reports. Adams believed that "physical and historical geography [provided] the basis of instruction in historical and political science."[17] Turner also learned much from his friend, the medievalist Charles Homer Haskins, who, during the spring of 1889, presented to his history undergraduates at Johns Hopkins a vigorous program of lectures on physical geography and its bearing upon man's relation to his environment and the study of his past.[18]

Turner's most effective scientific teacher was his Madison friend Charles Van Hise. A distinguished geologist, long an associate of John Wesley Powell on the United States Geological Survey, and one of America's foremost conservationists, Van Hise, in the early 1890's, taught a course in geology wherein the relationship between physiography and the distribution of useful resources was intensively explored. Turner followed Van Hise's teaching in order to obtain a genuine "scientific geographic foundation."[19] The Tur-

[15] Turner, "Significance of History," 52 [italics Turner's].

[16] Mood, "Development of Frederick Jackson Turner as a Historical Thinker," 286–90.

[17] Herbert Baxter Adams, "The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities," in US Bureau of Education, *Circular of Information* (Washington, D. C., 1887), 192.

[18] Charles Homer Haskins, "Lectures to Undergraduate Students on Physical Geography," *Johns Hopkins Circulars,* VIII (1889), 28. "H. J. Turner" was enrolled in this course. "H. J." is an evident misprinting of F. J.; F. J. Turner was the only Turner then studying at Johns Hopkins. (*Ibid.,* 55.)

[19] Maurice M. Vance, *Charles Richard Van Hise: Scientist Progressive* (Madison, Wis., 1960), 60–61, describes the intimacy of the Turner-Van Hise friendship. Turner's statement is given by C. L. Skinner, "Turner's Autobiographical Letter," *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* XIX (Sept. 1935), 101. Van Hise's course ("Subcourse 3. Applied Geology") discussed "the relations of geology to potable water, to structural materials, to soils, to mineral fuels, and to ore deposits.

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ner-Van Hise ties were exceedingly close. Turner commanded Van Hise's successful campaign for the presidency of the University of Wisconsin. Together they served as university delegates to the International Geographical Congress held in Chicago, a section of the Columbian Exposition of 1893.[20] A mere two weeks earlier Turner had made public the frontier thesis, reading it before the American Historical Association, which was meeting as part of the same fair.

The advantage offered the historian by the science of physiography was to permit more exact expression of the environmental factors that influenced the social organism. The metaphor of the organism suggested in turn the intrinsic plasticity of society when subjected to novel conditions. "Wonderfully close parallelisms" between society and the organism detected by Herbert Spencer led him and many others, including Turner, to pursue with energy the application of biology to history and to confirm the directive agency assumed by the environment.[21] Evidently society evolved. The evolution of different societies tended to recapitulate earlier stages of the social organism. But at all times this evolving organism was adaptive, that is, the environment dictated the terms of its existence and compelled the organism to adjust to these terms.

Few writers and even fewer historians could avoid the appeal of evolution, recapitulation, and adaptation, essential themes in post-Darwinian biology and social thought. The conquest by evolution of speculative inquiry in the late nineteenth century gave rise certainly to intellectual extravagance

The composition, properties, modes of occurrence, geological and geographical distribution of each of these classes is considered. The origin of the more important of the metalliferous and non-metalliferous deposits of economic value is discussed." (*Catalogue of the University of Wisconsin, 1890–1891* [Madison, Wis., 1890], 123; *Catalogue of the University of Wisconsin, 1891–1892* [Madison, Wis., 1891], 136.) In addition to Van Hise and presumably Edward Asahel Birge (zoology) and William Trelease (botany), Turner was a disciple of Thomas Chrowder Chamberlin, one of America's outstanding geologists. As president of the University of Wisconsin Chamberlin had dispatched Turner to Baltimore for the doctorate and had then arranged his teaching appointment in the university's history department. Chamberlin agreed with Van Hise that surface features and human history were inseparable and that physiography, "full of bearings upon industry and upon civilization," must receive greater emphasis in the curriculum. (Thomas Chrowder Chamberlin, "The Relationship of Geology to Physiography in Our Educational System," *National Geographic Magazine,* V [Jan. 1894], 158. This paper was read at the Chicago geographical congress attended by Turner and Van Hise.) On scientific instruction in Madison, see Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1848–1925* (2 vols., Madison, Wis., 1949), I, 359–63; on Chamberlin's Madison years, see *ibid.,* 534–60; on Turner and Chamberlin, see Mood, "Development of Frederick Jackson Turner as a Historical Thinker," 319. A better appreciation of Turner's familiarity with the sciences will probably be gained by future examination of the Huntington Library's Frederick Jackson Turner Papers, especially the classroom notebooks and Commonplace Books of the 1880's. (See *Turner's Legacy,* ed. Jacobs, 7 ff.)

[20] Vance, *Van Hise,* 61.

[21] See Herbert Spencer, "The Social Organism," in *Essays: Scientific, Political and Speculative* (3 vols., New York, 1891), I, 265–307, esp. 297, and "The Factors of Organic Evolution," *ibid.,* 389–466.

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and dogmatism. But it also assisted the historian's endeavor, reaffirming in ostensibly scientific terms his deep conviction of the essential continuity of history.[22] Turner doubtlessly learned of evolution from his Wisconsin courses and from Van Hise.[23] Richard T. Ely, an economist and another warm friend, taught him the historian's formulation of the descent doctrine. Society, Ely and others believed, evolved through a rather circumscribed sequence of stages. "Society is an organism," and from a hunting and fishing economy it passed upward through pastoral, agricultural, and commercial stages, finally attaining its present industrial condition.[24] Ely's is not a static conception. Each stage is defined by the active relationship between man and his environment. Functions are emphasized, not merely successive forms of society. The consequence of interaction was the appearance of ever-new stages of social evolution.

Turner repeats Ely's evolutionary social stages in the frontier essay and uses them to support the conclusion that each region of America "has had an influence in our economic and political history; the evolution of each into a higher stage has worked political transformations."[25] Hence American frontier history, perhaps indeed all historical development, advanced along the scale of evolutionary stages, moving from hunting,[26] to settlement, and finally to urban manufacture. The evolutionary component of the frontier thesis is so conspicuous that it becomes a mere commonplace.

An even more obvious borrowing from biology is the unlikely notion of historical recapitulation. Few biologists of the nineteenth century were not at some time tempted by the recapitulation hypothesis.[27] It was suggested by these enthusiasts, foremost among whom were Fritz Müller and Ernst

[22] A brief account is given by John Bowle, *Politics and Opinion in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1964), 215–22.

[23] His youthful reading included much Darwin and Spencer. (*Turner's Legacy,* ed. Jacobs, 8–10.)

[24] Richard T. Ely, *An Introduction to Political Economy* (New York, 1889), 14, 49–50. Ely's conception of social stages may have been borrowed from Achille Loria. (See Lee Benson, "Achille Loria's Influence on American Economic Thought, Including His Contribution to the Frontier Hypothesis," *Agricultural History,* XXIV [Oct. 1950], 182–89.) Loria's appreciation of the metaphor of the social organism was wholly conventional; his extension of this truism to problems of free land and economic diversity Benson shows (*ibid.,* 196) was notably more striking and clearly was used by Turner. ("Significance of the Frontier in American History," 11.) I question, however, Benson's additional claim ("Achille Loria's Influence," 193) that "Turner's biological phraseology came from Loria." Turner was familiar with the great evolutionary texts well before he learned of Loria's *Analisi della proprietà capitalistica* (Turin, 1889); both men, in repeating the metaphor and examining the stages of social development, merely repeat the age's favorite conundrum.

[25] Turner, "Significance of the Frontier in American History," 12.

[26] Turner evinced special concern for the "hunter" type. (See *Turner's Legacy,* ed. Jacobs, 153–55.)

[27] See William Coleman's introduction to "The Interpretation of Animal Form: Essays by Jeffries Wyman, Carl Gegenbaur, E. Ray Lankester, Henri de Lacaze Duthiers, Wilhelm His and H. Newell Martin, 1868–1888" (New York, in press).

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Haeckel, that the various stages traversed by the embryo of the developing individual organism repeated or "recapitulated" with an astonishing fidelity the different stages through which the whole race itself had passed as it ascended the ancient evolutionary tree. There was just enough semblance of truth in the idea to give it enormous renown. In the doctrine of repeating historical stages a similar situation is encountered.

"At the Atlantic frontier," Turner claimed, "one can observe the germs of processes repeated at each successive frontier."[28] Here in the wilderness European society was abruptly thrown into the "simplicity of primitive conditions." Each successive frontier experienced roughly the same sequence of changes, and, as the frontier swept west, a new nation with its own identity was created. Commercial rivalry, for example, especially for western trade, brought forth new cities and opened new routes of transportation. Cities on the western lakes and rivers now competed among one another much as had the established ports of the eastern seaboard. New Orleans, Memphis, St. Louis, and Chicago "repeated the rivalry" that had once enriched the merchants of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.[29] From desolate frontier outposts in an unexplored wilderness communities arose that would rapidly or slowly, as conditions dictated, ascend the tested scale of social evolution, ultimately to emerge as true cities with diversified and principally industrial economies.

Turner here was guilty of a serious contradiction. The recapitulation argument, whether biological or historical, was rightly the favorite of hereditarians. It postulated that the essence of development was the return of ancestral stages and that developmental continuity might perhaps occasionally be obscured, but never violated. Turner never admitted that exact recapitulation would allow only the smallest play to the social organism's response to widely varying environmental conditions. For Turner, environmental conditions necessarily demanded supremacy, for American uniqueness was due to American conditions. The recapitulation doctrine may have offered Turner a bold and easily appreciated analogy, but it clashed with a more fundamental biological theme: society as an adaptive organism.

"The peculiarity of American institutions," Turner announced in 1892, "is the fact that they are compelled to *adapt* themselves to the changes of a remarkably developing, expanding people. The institutional framework of the nation may be likened to the anatomy of the body politic; its physiology

[28] Turner, "Significance of the Frontier in American History," 9.
[29] *Id.*, "The Significance of the Section in American History," *Significance of Sections in American History*, 33.

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is the social and economic life molding this frame to new uses."[30] A year later the "vital forces" enjoyed by these social "organs" were at work negotiating the transformations of society that resulted from "changes involved in crossing a continent, in winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of this progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life."[31] Evolutionary social stages and historical recapitulation are not without interest, but it is only here that one encounters the fundamental conception of nineteenth-century evolutionary theory: the interaction and consequent harmonious accommodation of organism and environment, in short, adaptation. According to the frontier thesis, institutions, the very framework of the social structure, had no independent and unalterable existence. They were the creation of men at varying stages on the evolutionary scale. As man changed and came to new terms with his environment, as human society was then recast into new forms, so did the institutional fabric and structure of society change. An "expanding people," Turner's Americans, was the initial step in this process of adaptation. The factors that could alter the human organism, and equally well the social organism of which he was a constituent, were those forces which ultimately governed the American historical process.

This is Lamarckism with Spencerian fittings. Enunciated during the first decade of the century, the Lamarckian philosophy postulated an unlimited transmutability of living things. Lamarck was a warm adherent of the then novel idea of the derivation of complex forms of life from simpler and presumably more primitive organisms. It is notable, however, that his genius led him not to gather evidence in favor of descent, an idea he treated as an axiom, but to fabricate a plausible mechanism of species transmutation or change. Darwin regarded evident but inexplicable random variation as the source of novelties. Lamarck found this source in the action of the environment upon the malleable organism.[32] The close adjustment or adaptation of organism to environment was therefore subject to control by the latter.

But simple environmentalism is not the whole of Lamarck's conception of change. A significant set of events in the process was performed on the psychological level. The environment generated in sensate organisms, among them man, a need or mental desire, either conscious or unconscious, to adjust structure and behavior to new and presumably more appropriate

[30] Turner, "Problems in American History [1892]," 73 [italics mine].
[31] *Id.*, "Significance of the Frontier in American History," 2.
[32] The classic statement is given in J. B. de Lamarck, *Philosophie zoologique* (2 vols., Paris, 1809), I, 218–68.

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conditions. This psychic element was of capital importance to Lamarck, but it was purged by later serious proponents of the environmental hypothesis in biology.[33] The idea, however, was never entirely abandoned and received greatest acclaim in the final quarter of the century.

The return to favor of the psychic element in biological and social adaptation was due partially to increasing repugnance for the extreme statements of environmentalists. While Henry Thomas Buckle, perhaps unjustly, is the most notorious of this group, the American Spencerians were no less given to remarkable determinist pronouncements. John William Draper, for example, wrote that although man, endowed with reason, tended "to create salubrious climates" for himself, he was nevertheless a "mere member of animated creation" and as such had to submit "to the universal, the imperious domination of physical agents." Draper than attributed southern lethargy and querulousness and the distribution and "characteristics" of the Negro "race" to the "hottest of all climates," that of the climate zone including the South Atlantic States.[34] Followers of Comte and Spencer were pleased to install man in but one compartment of a vast, functionally integrated social organism. Man as a part of nature was less than man the master of nature.

Certain philosophers rebelled at these uncritical conclusions. William James spurned the cosmic philosophies and demanded that man, at least, retained some spontaneity and superior intelligence in this perhaps not so well-ordered universe. Samuel Butler's denunciation of the fatalistic, mechanical world of the Darwinians was premised on the supremacy of the human will.[35] As part of the reappraisal in America at this time of the relations between man and nature, grounds for optimism ultimately were found in the capacity of the human will to control its environment. The obverse face of social Darwinism was reform Darwinism, and the reformers made no lesser claims to be the spokesmen for the social exigencies of modern biology.[36]

[33] The principal revision was made in about 1830 by the French naturalist, Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire. (See Théophile Cahn, *La vie et l'œuvre d'Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire* [Paris, 1962], 236–39.)

[34] John William Draper, *History of the American Civil War* (3 vols., New York, 1867–70), I, 104, 120–23.

[35] William James, "Great Men, Great Thoughts and the Environment," *Atlantic Monthly*, XLVI (Oct. 1880), 441–59; see Basil Willey, *Darwin and Butler: Two Versions of Evolution* (London, 1960).

[36] The two Darwinisms have yet to find their historian. Richard Hofstadter's *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (2d ed., Boston, 1955) reviews in depth the conservative Darwinists' position. To my knowledge the only explicit comparison of conservative and reform Darwinism is given by Eric F. Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny* (2d ed., New York, 1956), 72–76; I have employed Goldman's terms in my discussion. On the relationships of man and nature in American thought, see Arthur A. Ekirch, *Man and Nature in America* (New York,

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Reform Darwinists looked to the environment for their panacea. The environment may control man, but conversely the perceptive man of action should recognize man's effect upon nature and conclude that an intelligent use of the environment must rank among progressive society's most ameliorative tools.

Darwinism, both social and biological, was no simple and consistent orthodoxy. Darwin himself was baffled by the problem of the origin of biological novelty and in later years retreated into ambiguous advocacy of environmental causation of variations. Darwin's support of the Lamarckian theory and his favorable citation of Lamarck's works doubtlessly encouraged the emergence of a new generation of biological environmentalists. These Neo-Lamarckians, as they styled themselves, were particularly numerous and influential in the United States.[37] The views of these men, including Henry Fairfield Osborn, Edwin Drinker Cope, Alpheus Hyatt, and others, presented both features of the Lamarckian argument. Osborn regarded "life as the continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations." In this process the "general adaptation of the organism to its surroundings" tended, within limits, to increase.[38] The changes induced were believed unquestionably to be inherited. Heritable change is, of course, the pivot and condition of the entire hypothesis. That the environment could effect alterations in almost any organism, or society, few men would deny. But an identifying criterion of the Neo-Lamarckian was his conviction that these changes were hereditary. "Acquired characteristics" referred not to one generation's acquisitions alone but to those features which it had both produced and transmitted to its progeny. Contrary to the views of the German zoologist, August Weismann, the environmentalists demanded a flexibility of the human constitution. Weismann's doctrine of an inviolable racial germ (*Keimplasma*), a most suggestive proposal to close students of biological inheritance, was passionately denounced by the Neo-Lamarckians who saw in it a powerful argument against the feasibility of social reform justified on the grounds of human mastery of environmental conditions.[39]

Cope, more explicitly than Osborn, defended the psychic component in

1963), esp. 70–99; and Hans Huth, *Nature and the American* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957).

[37] On the Neo-Lamarckian reaction to Darwinism, see Edward J. Pfeiffer, "The Genesis of American Neo-Lamarckianism," *Isis*, LVI (Summer 1965), 156–67; and Philip O. Fothergill, *Historical Aspects of Organic Evolution* (New York, 1953), 135–78.

[38] Henry Fairfield Osborn, "Are Acquired Characters Inherited?" *American Naturalist*, XXV (Mar. 1891), 209. The first passage is an unacknowledged citation from Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Biology* [1864] (2 vols., New York, 1896), I, 80.

[39] See Mark H. Haller, *Eugenics: Hereditarian Attitudes in American Thought* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1963), 60–61.

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evolutionary change. "Acquired variations may be inherited," he insisted, and furthermore these "variations appear in definite directions."[40] Cope followed Butler in attributing the seeming directedness of evolution to sensation and consciousness. Life and living things, and man in particular, shared with inanimate nature the decision as to which direction the future course of evolutionary change might or should adopt. Intelligence and prevision as exercised by man were deemed essential to the process of change, and the rigid hereditarianism of Weismann, if true, could only pose an insuperable obstacle in the course of reform. If we improve our education and better our surroundings, Osborn pleaded, we must realize that either the resulting improvements are inherited and thereby conserved by the race or else every attempt at permanent reform is a preordained failure.[41]

There are, then, two sides to the common environmentalist position. On the one hand exists the view that raw nature, the external and nonliving world, usually described in terms of climatic conditions, exerts a preponderant influence in the affairs of men. Mental attributes as well as physical characteristics bend to the mood of nature. Advocates of this view often tend to slip into strict environmental determinism, a tendency most in evidence in the writings of pre-World War I geographers. On the other hand the environmentalist may elect to include man and culture among the environmental forces. In this sense man asserts some mastery over ambient conditions, although perhaps only by their manipulation may he be able to attain his design.

It was the metaphor of the social organism that permitted the easy transfer of the biologists' conception of Neo-Lamarckian environmentalism into the realm of human society. If society is indeed an organism then it, too, evolves; it, too, is subject to the play of external conditions; it, too, might be recast into new and more desirable forms. Not by chance was Spencer the supreme advocate of both the metaphor and the Lamarckian propositions. Indeed, Spencer averred that the "direct action of the medium was the primordial factor of organic evolution" and also that the "nation was modified *en masse*" by external forces.[42] The most popular philosophical and social

[40] Edwin Drinker Cope, "The Present Problems of Organic Evolution," *Monist,* V (July 1895), 572–73.

[41] Henry Fairfield Osborn, "The Present Problem of Heredity," *Atlantic Monthly,* LXVII (Mar. 1891), 363.

[42] Spencer, "Factors in Organic Evolution," 460, 464. The early Spencer's high regard for competition as an evolutionary force (*Social Statics* [London, 1851]) was tempered in later years when he surmised that a major shift from combat to cooperation occurred as society progressed into mature industrial organization. (Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology* [3d ed., 3 vols., New York, 1897], III, 553–74.) Spencer, however, never wholly excluded the earlier opinion. (See Bowle, *Politics and Opinion,* 223–36.)

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writer in America in the second half of the nineteenth century thus developed the twin themes of organism and environment and delivered the whole to his vast audience in an elaborate evolutionary package.

Into this discussion and aware of its every nuance came Turner. America, he recalled, had ever been synonymous with opportunity. On the moving frontier, with free land beyond and restraints eliminated, a seemingly endless stream of people had been stripped of their past and made over anew, refashioned to become the very model of Turner's ideal, the individualistic and democratic American. "For a moment," he said, drawing together the arguments of the frontier essay,

> at the frontier, the bonds of custom are broken and unrestraint is triumphant. There is not *tabula rasa*. The stubborn American environment is there with its imperious summons to accept its conditions; the inherited ways of doing things are there also; and yet, in spite of environment, and in spite of custom, each frontier did indeed furnish a new field of opportunity, a gate of escape from the bondage of the past.[43]

This is a remarkable utterance, a testament written in youth. It betrays the fundamental course of Turner's thought. Man and society patently are modified by environmental factors. On the miraculous frontier, man and society were separated from their past and forced to assume a new physical and spiritual appearance. Most importantly, human institutions were so disturbed by the shock of frontier conditions that the traditional forms of government collapsed.

Institutional history was of special interest to Turner, influenced perhaps by Allen's extensive researches on and teaching of medieval administrative practice and feudal land tenure policies. But institutional historians commonly tended to emphasize continuity, not social change, and offered little to one whose self-imposed task was to explain the unanticipated consequences of American settlement. Even Walter Bagehot's proposal for breaking the "cake of custom" proved inadequate. According to Bagehot the cake of custom, an expression much favored by Turner, soon became embedded in early civilized society where it effectively defied most efforts for reform. The historian, therefore, who accepted a genuine development of society since earliest times had to seek those forces which had occasionally jarred society loose from custom or established practice. "If fixity is an invariable ingredient in early civilizations," Bagehot asked, "how then did any civilization become unfixed?"[44] For Bagehot, the essential force of change was

[43] Turner, "Significance of the Frontier in American History," 37–38.

[44] Walter Bagehot, *Physics and Politics, or Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of "Natural Selection" and "Inheritance" to Political Society* (Boston, 1956), 115.

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"government by discussion," an ancient practice stemming from remote Germanic polities and reaching its culmination in contemporary British parliamentary government. Discussion was nothing truly new; in certain modern societies its consequences became only more patent and laudable. Custom was often initiated by "imitation," particularly imitation by the masses of an unusually strong leader. Such, Bagehot maintained, was the source of the peculiar "Anglo-Saxonism" appearing in Australia and the American West. A stalwart character "type" arose from the struggle with a new land, and this type then gave "its shape to the mass of characters [Americans] because the mass of characters have unconsciously imitated it."[45] Bagehot, a historical evolutionist par excellence, appreciated therefore many incipient and uncommon attributes of the American people, but continued to believe that democratic government represented but the appearance on new soil of an innate Anglo-Germanic capacity for government by discussion. Climate and "physical surroundings" Bagehot assigned a distinctly inferior role in nation making.[46]

In Turner's opinion this same "cake of custom [was] broken" on the frontier. He emphasized less the presumed continuity of democratic forms of society than the compulsion exerted by the frontier to make all men, and not merely those of Anglo-Saxon ancestry, democratic men. "The history of our political institutions, our democracy, is not," he claimed, "a history of imitation, of simple borrowing; it is a history of the evolution and adaptation of organs in response to changed environment, a history of the origin of new political species."[47] The environment thus became a determinative factor. Americans were not born, but produced, produced in great part by their surroundings.

But neither man nor society was wholly determined by environmental conditions. Some of the earlier features of society, the religious forms of New England, for example, did migrate West and establish themselves there. Man, furthermore, overcoming the sanctions of "environment" and "custom," may well occasionally grasp opportunity and become the master of his own destiny. The historical role of "physical conditions" required, Turner recog-

[45] *Ibid.*, 27.

[46] *Ibid.*, 133–34. Elsewhere (*ibid.*, 63) Bagehot excludes "climate" from any role whatsoever in the historical process.

[47] Turner, "The Problem of the West," in *Frontier in American History*, 205–206. Woodrow Wilson at Johns Hopkins in 1888–1889 introduced Turner to Bagehot's conceptions and convinced him that institutions must be viewed as "vehicles of life" and not as formal, dead entities. (Stephenson, "Influence of Woodrow Wilson on Frederick Jackson Turner," 252.) Turner's copy of *Physics and Politics* (1880 ed.) is preserved at the Huntington Library. (*Turner's Legacy*, ed. Jacobs, 18–19.)

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nized, "more fundamental discussion" before a confident pronouncement might be made.[48]

Turner, of course, was making concessions both to heredity and the human will and did so within the framework of environmental demands. It is not facetious to propose that the acclaim and persuasiveness of the frontier thesis were largely due to this unacknowledged and probably unrecognized blend of discordant themes. Turner was often alarmingly ambiguous and not infrequently clearly inconsistent. Readers entertaining differing opinions may well have read the frontier essay, and each agreed to the analysis, selecting from it only that which was desired. But one point upon which perhaps all could explicitly agree was that the frontier, however it might be defined as temporary place or territory, was universally a dominating process. If America had received germs of its society from Europe—and this Turner could not and did not wholly deny—still it had proved to be their superior. Its influence was exerted on the rugged lands of the frontier, at precisely the point where nature in its most potent guise and society in its least compact and most plastic phase came together and interacted one upon the other.

This American environment which bent man and society to its mold captivated Turner's imagination and provoked his scholarly interest. He was from his early years as a student obsessed by maps, census reports, and the writings of physiographers. The Johns Hopkins resources were freely available to him; Van Hise was his intellectual companion; the works of Powell he certainly studied; and it is not unlikely that he also read the writings of Nathaniel Southgate Shaler. Geography, including physiography and the study of natural resources and climate, developed as a seemingly rigorous science essentially during the nineteenth century, commencing with the work of Alexander von Humboldt and Carl Ritter. It was a "new" science, and it appealed magnificently to eager generations of imperialists and nation builders. From at least mid-century the study of man's relation to nature received increasing attention, even in America (especially with George Perkins Marsh), and from about 1880 human geography began to emerge as a distinct discipline.[49]

[48] Frederick Jackson Turner, "Geographical Interpretations of American History," *Journal of Geography,* IV (Jan. 1905), 37. Turner's views on the issue of determinism are not explicitly developed; he appears to drift somewhere between "free-will environmentalism" and a reluctant "possibilism." See Harold and Margaret Sprout, *The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs, with Special Reference to International Politics* (Princeton, N. J., 1965), for an analysis of the numerous and imprecise categories of determinist thought.

[49] George Tatham, "Geography in the Nineteenth Century," in *Geography in the Twentieth Century,* ed. Griffith Taylor (New York, 1957), 28–69; J. N. L. Baker, "The Last Hundred Years of Historical Geography," in *The History of Geography* (New York, 1963), 33–50; and David Lowenthal, *George Perkins Marsh: Versatile Vermonter* (New York, 1958), 246–76.

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Leading this movement was the German naturalist, traveler, and geographer, Friedrich Ratzel. His works, particularly *Anthropo-geographie,* became primary texts for the investigation of the place of human society in nature and for the exposition of the general environmentalist theses. Ratzel's thesis itself is reassuringly simple: The races of mankind possess an inborn urge to move. The resulting migrations carry them into all parts of the habitable globe. The globe's surface is not regular, but is cut into regions of various magnitudes by the sea, river courses, mountain barriers, arid lands, and any number of other physiographic features. Each physiographic region presents peculiar and occasionally unique qualities, and each customarily removes its inhabitants from frequent intercourse with the outside world. Mankind and especially primitive man, Ratzel's central concern, were therefore broken up into a great mosaic of isolated communities, families, and tribes.[50]

As Ratzel pursued his inquiry into the "effects of nature upon history" he discovered that a solution might be found in biology. Evidently isolated groups of organisms, including man, were not merely removed from one another by physiographic features, but they were acted upon quite directly by the environment. Peculiar conditions tended to produce distinctive peoples. "In the final analysis," Ratzel stated, "nature is always more powerful than man."[51] Physiographic diversity was therefore a primary determinant of human character and social organization. Ratzel's originality lay in extending to the human situation generalizations that Moritz Wagner, his teacher, had propounded in explanation of the pattern of geographical distribution of plants and animals. Wagner was an astute critic of Darwinian natural selection.[52] In its place he proposed the *Migrations-theorie* to explain the origin of biological diversity. Animals and plants diffused over the surface of the earth. New conditions generated new species, and the barrier of physical isolation prevented the blending of the incipient species into the ancestral stock of the surrounding area. The migration theory demanded the plasticity of the organism and its intimate relations with all natural phenomena. It shared and perpetuated the basic tenets of Lamarckian environmentalism.

[50] Friedrich Ratzel, *Anthropo-geographie, oder Grundzüge der Anwendung der Erdkunde auf die Geschichte* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1882–91), I, 62–88, 437–71.

[51] *Ibid.,* 42.

[52] Moritz Wagner, "Über die Enstehung der Arten durch Absonderung," *Kosmos,* VII (Apr.–Sept. 1880), 1–10, 89–99, 169–83. Wagner had first stated the *Migrations-theorie* in 1868; Ratzel utilized the 1880 essay. (Ratzel, *Anthropo-geographie,* I, 464.) On the Ratzel-Wagner relationship and the beginnings of anthropogeography, see Hanno Beck, "Moritz Wagner als Geograph," *Erdkunde,* VII (June 1953), 125–28. For a discussion by a contemporary biologist, see Ernst Mayr, *Animal Species and Evolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 482–88.

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By the turn of the century the Ratzelian viewpoint was being disseminated in the United States, primarily by the uncritical enthusiast, Ellen Churchill Semple. Turner seems to have discovered Ratzel in 1895 or 1896, some years after the frontier essay. His reaction, however, to the German geographer's views was one of delight. The American wilderness into which new peoples were moving has been, Turner noted, "a field for new species of social life," and Ratzel's conception of space, he continued, may well be the key to American development.[53] A decade later, while giving an assessment of Semple's geographical contentions, Turner would claim that Ratzel was truly the "forerunner in the path American historians must follow who view their problems as those arising from the study of the evolution of society in an American environment."[54]

It was scarcely necessary that Turner or other Americans read Ratzel's treatise to appreciate the special claims of the migration-isolation theories. Shaler's *Nature and Man in America* strongly urged that "the life of the people is peculiar in proportion to the measure of their isolation and the length of time for which it has endured." The environment generates a new race and society of men, which remain stable until new migrations commence. The best environment creates the "dominant people of the world," that is, Anglo-Saxons. Unhappily, American conditions were not suitable for "cradling civilizations," and our land could best nurture "race characteristics bred elsewhere."[55]

Despite its late concession to the germ theory, Shaler's book popularized the central argument of Ratzel's theory and, even more importantly, attempted to specify the physiographic factors in the westward course of United States history. The continents and seas were "great engines operating in a determined way to secure the advance of life," and Shaler hoped to find in the Appalachian barrier, trans-Alleghenian river systems flowing west, arid lands on the Great Plains, and other prominent physiographic features the underlying reason for American development. On an earlier occasion Shaler had defended his country against the now-wearied charge of European commentators that what America had produced that was new was necessarily degenerate. He protested that the United States was in no way inferior to the Old World and that "the physical and moral conditions of life upon this continent are not calculated to depreciate the important inheritances of the race"—the fine American white Anglo-Saxon stock.

[53] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The West as a Field for Historical Study," *Annual Report, American Historical Association, 1896* (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1897), I, 283–84.

[54] Turner, "Geographical Interpretations of American History," 34.

[55] Nathaniel Southgate Shaler, *Nature and Man in America* (New York, 1891), 161, 164, 173.

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Turner would pursue this form of the argument to its conclusion, but without Shaler's overt racism.[56] The American environment not only belied the charge of degeneracy, but showed that Americans need not settle for the *status quo* or a balance between European and American productions. America was clearly superior and its productions more desirable than the exhausted stock of the Old World. America literally was the land of opportunity where a new society was being created. America was the mold that recast men and antiquated institutions into new and better forms. America meant generation, not degeneration.

During the 1880's yet another distinguished American physiographer indulged in environmental fancies. But John Wesley Powell was a pronounced optimist and impassioned foe of the determinist position. The course of evolution, he maintained, was progressive. The "revelation of science" proved that "every generation in life is a step in progress to a higher and fuller life; science has discovered *hope*."[57] Powell's optimism derived from his assumption that the process of evolution which, on the "biotic" level, acted according to rigorous Lamarckian rules of environmental action and the use and disuse of parts, submitted to social control on the "anthropic" or human level. All evolutionary phenomena, biological and social, betrayed, however, that "organic parts act *on* and *for* one another," and functional "interdependence" was everywhere apparent.[58]

Powell's strange social philosophy and extravagant language were superimposed upon an extraordinary grasp of American physiographic features. The Midwest he knew from youth, the Grand Canyon of the Colorado he conquered, the mountains of Utah and the arid regions of high plains he explored as geologist and ethnographer. His interest was the land. His famous study, *Report on the Lands of the Arid Regions of the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1878), emphasized how arbitrary and scientifically impotent were traditional political subdivisions (states) and how necessary it was that legislators recognize the existence and significance of large, distinctive, physiographically defined "districts" of the United States. Powell was a true re-

[56] *Id.*, "Physiography of North America," in *Narrative and Critical History of America*, ed. Justin Winsor (8 vols., Boston, 1884–89), IV, xviii. Did Turner read Shaler's works? I have found no indisputable evidence that he did. He may well have discovered the article in Winsor's *History*, for in his dissertation on the fur trade he utilized another article in the same volume. Its author (E. D. Neill) refers the reader to Shaler's introductory essay. *Man and Nature in America* proved an exceptionally popular work, reappearing in new editions well into the twentieth century, and was certainly not unfamiliar to Van Hise and Chamberlin. I venture the presumption, therefore, that Turner, too, read this volume, perhaps in the early 1890's and possibly before 1893.

[57] John Wesley Powell, "Darwin's Contribution to Philosophy," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Publications*, XXV (1883), 66.

[58] *Id.*, "The Three Modes of Evolution," *ibid.*, XXX (1883), xlii, xxxvi–xxxviii; see Paul Meadows, *John Wesley Powell: Frontiersman of Science* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1952), 77–90.

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gionalist and pointed to river systems and their potential value for irrigation as the essential criteria for a geographical analysis of the continent's surface.[59]

Turner accepted Powell's suggestion and found that it revolutionized the study of American history. Henceforth study would have to be "based on natural physiographic divisions" and not on state lines.[60] Subsequently Turner's interest turned from the action of the frontier to the role of sections in American development. But sections were themselves defined as physiographic provinces, each to be regarded as "potential nations and empires" and their distribution and characteristics to be recorded as the "fundamental fact in American history."[61]

Physiography, therefore, was the handmaiden to the metaphor of the social organism as Turner devised and developed the frontier thesis. About the two themes a remarkable historical dynamic was woven. Turner's was not scientific history, if by this expression is alone meant an exalted effort to accumulate and verify historical data in putative "scientific" manner. He adopted, rather, and then exploited the scientific idiom of his time. Evolution in its peculiarly Lamarckian guise provided a conceptual framework for both the formulation and repeated exposition of the frontier thesis. A recasting of the Neo-Lamarckian theories was held to account for the production of a novel and highly desirable form of society. These theories, moreover, pointed with unceasing vigor to the singular conditions that had produced the new nation. The American environment, in brief, never escaped Turner's glance. Indeed, Turner's emotional response to the land of his youth may well account for his susceptibility to forest, wilderness, and vital processes as forms of historical explanation.

[59] *Ibid.*, 58–59.

[60] Turner to Walter Hines Page, Aug. 30, 1896, Frederick Jackson Turner Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard College. On Turner's reading of Powell and antecedent studies, see Mood, "Development of Frederick Jackson Turner as a Historical Thinker," 307–18.

[61] Turner, "Problems in American History [1892]," 8–9. Turner's interest in sections may have been inspired by a study of the geographical distribution of the vote prepared by H. C. Desmond of Milwaukee. Desmond regarded "sectionalism" as the "controlling fact" in American politics. ("The Sectional Feature in American Politics," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Arts, Sciences and Letters*, VIII [1892], 1–10.) Other historians also were encouraging Turner to develop a geographic interpretation of history. Reviewing Payne's history of Spanish America Turner deplored the author's unseemly identification of physical conditions and historical causes, sensing here a tendency toward the extremes of Buckle. He nevertheless labeled Payne's extended exposition of the effects of physiography and natural products one of the "most suggestive and useful" of all interpretations of New World history. It demonstrated, he believed, that the consequences of "peculiarly *American* conditions" contradicted the comfortable and conventional view that American civilization was merely European civilization transplanted into the New World. (Frederick Jackson Turner, "A New History of America," *Dial* [Chicago], XIII [Dec. 16, 1892], 391, and "Problems in American History [1892]," 77.) The latter opinion was included in an essay that Turner stated "constitutes the beginnings of my writings on the frontier." (*Early Writings*, 237.)

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This simple record of Turner's use of conceptions derived from the natural sciences leaves unexplained the source of their appeal to a historian of American social development. The metaphor of the social organism suggested the inner vitality of society and its responsiveness to external influences. Physiography defined more narrowly the scope of these conditions. While the metaphor thus discloses much of Turner's understanding of the structure and adaptability of society, it tells little of his conception of "environment," above all, the American environment. Turner, of course, often referred to the American scene in the clear and easy language of descriptive geography, noting topographic features, potential or exploited sources of wealth, and the role of land forms and river courses in preparing the way for lines of later human communication. But not infrequently a deeper level of thought was bared, and from it a more suggestive view of Turner the man can be won. Turner's attachment to the American scene was less rational than emotional. An uncommon fascination with the "Great Forest" of pioneer times in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys pervades the entire body of his writings. In the frontier thesis has been discovered[62] the culmination of America's self-image as the "garden of the world," an idea descended from eighteenth-century agrarianism and Jeffersonian ideals. The garden, essentially the forested or watered reaches of America west to the arid lands and mountain barrier, was raw, untamed, and bountiful, and the men it produced were vigorous, courageous, and passionately democratic. Turner appears therefore to restate only a familiar myth and to find in this "enchanted wood" which is America a "nature" singularly capable of effecting "rebirth" or "regeneration" of all that is desirable in mankind.[63]

To conceive of the West as being a state of mind, and a presumable unconscious mind at that, is to stand squarely athwart a long generation's interpretation of Turner's meaning. Both in praise and damnation Turner has been made into a forerunner of the economic historian, stressing the agricultural and industrial importance of land, espying economic roots of disruptive class conflict, and delineating the importance of transportation for national politico-economic integration.[64] Turner was indeed impressed by

[62] The following discussion draws heavily upon the conclusions of Smith, *Virgin Land, passim;* and Harold P. Simonson, "Frederick Jackson Turner: Frontier History as Art," *Antioch Review,* XXIV (Summer 1964), 201–11.

[63] Smith, *Virgin Land,* 296.

[64] An extreme claim was made by Charles A. Beard, cited in *Turner's Legacy,* ed. Jacobs, 36. See the discussion of Turner and the development of economic history in Potter, *People of Plenty,* 142–65; Wish, *American Historian,* 196–98; Charles Crowe, "The Emergence of Progressive History," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* XXVII (Jan.–Mar. 1966), 109–24; and particularly John Higham *et al., History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965), 171–211. Inquiry into Turner's sources for the idea that space or "free land" sets the economic terms for social

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the vast wealth to be taken from exploitation of the resources of the North American continent, and an economic motif is reasonably evident in the frontier essay of 1893.[65] But at least two connotations are evident and inseparable when Turner alludes to the West and discusses the formative power of the frontier. The first is that of the land, free land, which drew the settler westward and enriched him while transforming him. The second connotation evokes the West as symbol, a poetic realm at once primal, unspoiled, and generative, and one more inclined to determine our illusions of what we are as individuals and as a nation than to influence what may be the real form and behavior of our society.

The myth of the forest and, to Turner, the unsettled Middle West where the great trees grew, asserted itself more vigorously than economic themes in the historian's early writings, including the frontier essay itself. The latter essay, in fact, marks the watershed of Turner's thought. In his *Report* for 1890, the Superintendent of the Census had announced that the margin of settlement in the West had become so broken that henceforth "there can hardly be said to be a frontier line." The westward movement and the frontier that followed its progress thus passed out of the American historical process. To Turner this "brief official statement [marked] the closing of a great historic movement . . . the colonization of the Great West."[66] Turner regarded the future with no little anxiety. American liberties and the American nation had been created by the frontier. What was to become of these valued acquisitions once the cause of their existence had itself ceased to exist? What hope was there for democracy in a nation rapidly being urbanized and industrialized? America once again, Turner feared, was threatening to become a new nation, governed now by harsh economic

development is much to be desired. The writings of Loria and Henry George (see *Turner's Legacy*, ed. Jacobs, 15–16) and Ely's opinion that political economy occupies a "position midway" between the natural and moral sciences, dealing with the relations between "man and the external physical universe" (*Introduction to Political Economy*, 37), appear to have been especially influential. William Graham Sumner's "man-land ratio" (see Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism*, 51–66) and Ratzel's belief that human geography points to an increasing economic dependence on land and resources as civilization develops (*Anthropo-geographie*, I, 86–87) express the evolutionists' concern with environment which Turner may have known. Ratzel's conception of the relationship of environment and human society is discussed by Johannes Steinmetzler, *Die Anthropogeographie Friedrich Ratzels und ihre ideengeschichtlichen Wurzeln* (Bonn, 1956), 51–68. Francis A. Walker's analyses of census data may have given statistical meaning to the term "frontier." (See Fulmer Mood, "The Concept of the Frontier, 1871–1898," *Agricultural History*, XIX [Jan. 1945], 24–30.)

[65] Economic factors receive noticeably greater emphasis in Turner's later writings. (See, e.g., Turner, "Contributions of the West to American Democracy," in *Frontier in American History*, 243–68, "Social Forces in American History," *ibid.*, 311–34, "The West—1876 and 1926: Its Progress in a Half-Century," in *Significance of Sections in American History*, 235–55.)

[66] *Id.*, "Significance of the Frontier in American History," 1.

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realities and henceforth a land in which the simple and honest virtues of western village and family society were fated for oblivion.[67]

But the frontier hypothesis was not designed to negotiate these contemporary and disheartening realities. Turner's objective was to explain the American past and the formation of American character. Now that the frontier was closed one could no longer confidently anticipate its succor in aiding social adjustment and the maintenance of democratic institutions. The industrial economy following upon the closed frontier forced attention to be paid to "social problems" which only a united and no longer expanding nation need face.[68] The terms of historical explanation, Turner recognized, had therefore to change. The dilemma he faced in the 1890's was real enough. He elected to consider it without hesitation and admit that the frontier hypothesis was a distinctly unsatisfactory tool for understanding contemporary America.[69] Its failure resided precisely in the fact that its intellectual content was not congruent with the emerging forms of economic and social analysis. The frontier hypothesis drew its strength from the older America, the America that had ever pressed westward and had looked to the forest for its meaning and existence.

Turner was much given to poetic imagery. The West became a veritable "crucible" or melting pot in which foreign peoples were reduced to the purer essence of Americanism.[70] It was America's true "fountain of youth." A "forest-change" was induced in the settler who chose to penetrate our wild and "shaggy continent." The West was not simply a point on the compass; it pointed away from the Atlantic world and into America's heart. The individualism and democracy of America were seen in its architecture, "common, angular and plain." Unlike Europeans, Americans had no need for great palaces and cathedrals artificially erected in stone and everywhere

[67] Democracy's defense against an uncertain future was to be found in "educated leaders," and these must be produced by the great "State Universities." Democracy was too delicate to be placed safely in the exclusive hands of graduates from private universities. (*Id.*, "Pioneer Ideals and the State University," in *Frontier in American History*, 284–85.) Turner's remarks were made at the Indiana University commencement exercises in June 1910; that autumn he began his teaching career at Harvard. (See Ray A. Billington, "Frederick Jackson Turner Comes to Harvard," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, LXXIV [Jan.–Dec. 1962], 51–83.)

[68] The prolonged process of historical "recapitulation," by allowing each section of the nation to develop along more or less similar lines but at a distinctly different pace, had delayed America's necessary reckoning with true nationhood until the supply of free land was exhausted, that is, about 1890. (*Turner's Legacy*, ed. Jacobs, 175.)

[69] See Smith, *Virgin Land*, 303–304.

[70] Turner, "Significance of the Frontier in American History," 23; other references to Turner's imagery are given by Smith, *Virgin Land*, 291–305. The image of the melting pot appears in the 1840's; its greatest renown begins with Israel Zangwill's drama, *The Melting-Pot* (1908). (See Philip Gleason, "The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?" *American Quarterly*, XVI [Spring 1964], 20–46.)

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in the Old World the sign of archaic aristocratic oppression. "In America," Turner declaimed, "we have giant cathedrals, whose spires are moss clad pines, whose frescos are painted on the sky and mountain wall, and whose music surges through leafy aisles in the deep toned bass of cataracts or winds about in aeolian harmonies breathed from the forest harps."[71]

Turner's biographer should not overlook the situation and social condition of Portage, Wisconsin, the historian's youthful home. Portage had arisen on the famous French and Indian carrying point in a canoe route linking the waters of the Great Lakes and those of the Mississippi Valley. It was a small town on an ancient bridge between Europe and Mid-America, a strategic point in pioneer commerce. Along such lines as these, lines which "nature had drawn," Turner wrote in his doctoral dissertation on the Wisconsin fur trade, that "the Indians traded and warred; along their trails and in their birchbark canoes the trader passed, bringing a new and transforming life."[72] To the north of Portage lay seemingly inexhaustible acres of virgin pine forest, favored land for the woodsman. The town itself in these post-Civil War years was in a condition of extreme social flux, and in his youth Turner could witness the very nation-making process he later described. Portage still contained remnants of the ruined Wisconsin Indians; it experienced the frequent passage of immigrant groups heading for the western lands; it had important settlements of diverse European nationalities. But the town of Portage and the state of Wisconsin also represented the end of the frontier process. The settler, the town, and then the city were replacing the pioneer. An industrial economy now desecrated Turner's beloved Wisconsin pineries. In Turner's own youth the frontier disappeared in his native state. He was too aware of the virtues of the common man and too sensitive to the magnificence of the northern wilderness not to be deeply moved by civilization's threat to the one and rapacious annihilation of the other. "Is it strange," he would therefore ask when later in life he recalled his youth in this remote frontier town, "that I saw the frontier as a real thing and experienced its changes?" With implicit nostalgia he continued, "Is it strange that I preached of the frontier?"[73]

Ralph Waldo Emerson, writing of the art of history, declared of every mind that "[w]hat it does not see, what it does not live, it will not know."

[71] Frederick Jackson Turner, "Architecture through Oppression," *University Press,* XV (June 21, 1884), 12.

[72] *Id.,* "The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin," in *Early Writings,* 172.

[73] Skinner, "Turner's Autobiographical Letter," 103. A few years later, however, Turner appears to deny the importance of his place of birth. (*Turner's Legacy,* ed. Jacobs, 4.)

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What Turner knew he had seen and lived, and he was distinctly a man with an Emersonian sensibility to those things that are nature's.[74] He was, of course, but one among many historians who felt a need to animate their study of the past by a vivid and immediate re-creation of historical time and place. Francis Parkman had discovered that his early preferences, "books and woods," could be reconciled by writing the history of French Canada.[75] Turner found that his knowledge of the character of the West, derived from personal experience as well as from physiographic and historical study, better suggested the reality of setting against which the evolution of society would be portrayed and explained. The sense of immediacy need not be imagined; it was an elemental component of the historian's character and one due in great part to happy recollections of life in the now-tranquil West. It was therefore an effortless step to see in this splendid frame of nature a generative force surpassing the usage of literary custom and assuming the shape of ostensible historical cause. From the forests of medieval Germany, the germ theorists presumed, came the seeds of American democracy. But it was not so; these were merely the "political theorists' dreams." American democracy had come "stark and strong and full of life from the American forest."[76] The American forest was not like its German counterpart; it was active and not passive. It was the major clue to how seed from the Old World not merely germinated in the New, but how, in developing, it was transformed beyond recognition, and a truly new form of society was evolved.

The power of Turner's frontier thesis derived from its combination of the poetic imagery of the American West and the premises of evolutionary human geography. Turner experienced the foundation of pioneer society, the mingling of peoples, and the aspirations and illusions that they expressed. He had watched the westward progress of civilization and the subjection of recalcitrant lands and Indians. He was an avid woodsman forced to observe the rape of virgin land and forest, magnet and victim at once to the energies of an expansive and ambitious people. But Turner's learning surpassed

[74] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "History," in *Essays: First Series*, cited in Otis Pease, *Parkman's History: The Historian as Literary Artist* (New Haven, Conn., 1953), 1. Turner's first Wisconsin address (*The Poet of the Future* [Madison, Wis., 1883]) in effect reopens the question Emerson had posed a generation earlier: "Let us inquire, to what end is nature?" (Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Nature* [1836] [Indianapolis, Ind., 1948], 1.) Turner had carefully studied all of Emerson's essays (*Turner's Legacy*, ed. Jacobs, 9) and in later writings occasionally cited passages from the poet. (See Smith, *Virgin Land*, 296, n. 4.)

[75] *Letters of Francis Parkman*, ed. Wilbur R. Jacobs (2 vols., Norman, Okla., 1960), II, 124. On the re-creation of time, place, and person in history, see David Levin, *History as Romantic Art* (Stanford, Calif., 1959), 1–23.

[76] *Turner's Legacy*, ed. Jacobs, 100.

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the common idiom. His training in the sciences, while brief, was comprehensive and under the direction of outstanding scholars. He acquired a sound acquaintance with the general features of North American physiography and an introduction to the rigorous study of evolution, at that time the most resplendent of sciences. The organism that was society he could therefore view with both the popular eye and the scientist's insight and assume that the latter contributed its exactitude and dignity to the support of the former.[77] Whether two organisms were described as one or a single organism given a dual manifestation, the social or biological creature was an evolutionary beast. It was adaptive, and its environment indicated the direction and consequences of the inevitable transformations.

About the metaphor could be designed the complex edifice of historical reconstruction and explanation. The social organism, however, served two masters, and both were pleased with its apparent scientific veracity. By emphasizing the persistent, harmonious interaction of the various parts of society the conservative or orthodox Darwinian historian placed stress upon the slowness and difficulty of great social change. The more vigorous reform Darwinists, remarking a limitless interplay between society and its environment, pointed to the easy flexibility of social institutions and their accessibility to human as well as environmental intervention. Superficially it was the same metaphor, but its basic terms had changed. Its relevance and application to historical explanation were transformed and its suitability for sanctioning social action greatly enhanced.

Turner is highly regarded for his advocacy of multiple causation in history. All history he saw as a "complex of forces" in which political forms, economic conditions, industrialization, social composition, and the habits of mind of leaders and the masses demanded analysis.[78] No one method seemed adequate where "social forces" were concerned. And yet, behind purely social forces, lay a nation coming to terms with its environment; perhaps peculiar social forces owed much to a peculiar American environment. "Whatever the truth be regarding European history," Turner suggested,

American history is chiefly concerned with social forces, shaping and reshaping un-

[77] On the use of metaphor as historical explanation, see William H. Jordy, *Henry Adams: Scientific Historian* (New Haven, Conn., 1952), 121–219; and Joseph Mindel, "The Uses of Metaphor: Henry Adams and the Symbols of Science," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* XXVI (Jan.–Mar. 1965), 89–102.

[78] See Carl Becker, "Some Aspects of the Influence of Social Problems and Ideas upon the Study and Writing of History," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* VII (1913), 73–112. Turner's awareness of the multiplicity of historical causes was probably initiated by Thomas Chrowder Chamberlin's famous essay, "The Method of Multiple Working Hypotheses," *Science,* XV (Feb. 17, 1890), 92–96; revised and reprinted, *ibid.,* CXLVIII (May 7, 1965), 754–59, and elsewhere.

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der the conditions of a nation changing as it adjusts to its environment. And this environment progressively reveals new aspects of itself, exerts new influences, and calls out new social organs and functions.[79]

By emphasizing the physiography of North America and the generally unstable nature of society Turner could answer his own demands and account for the uniqueness of American developments.

Turner prided himself on being a man whose "strength, or weakness, lies in interpretation, correlation, in the elucidation of large tendencies to bring out new points of view."[80] As a guide to interpretation science seemed to him most fruitful. In the railroad locomotive Turner found the very "type of our grand civ[i]lization." Here was a "being whose muscles are iron, whose blood is steam, whose breath is fire, and whose brain is man." Turner's rhetoric need not obscure his conviction: the triumph of science and scientific technology in the popular mind. Science stood for the present and perhaps might speak to the future. The locomotive was but a symbol for all the sciences, including those best known to the historian: physiography and biology. Science was surely the "logic of the present," to which the modern poet needed join only the "dream of the past" to ensure that his "words will ring in the ears of generations yet unborn."[81] Turner the historian grasped this dream and found in it the potentialities of the "Great American Forest." To this he then joined the logic of the present and himself became that poet of the future for whom he had yearned. The ideas leading to the enunciation of the frontier thesis present a strange blend of remarkable themes. But behind them all stand two broader themes which Turner recognized with full clarity: the triumph of natural science and a popular democracy related to the myth of the forest and the American West.

[79] Turner, "Social Forces in American History," 323.
[80] Ray A. Billington, "Why Some Historians Rarely Write History," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, L (June 1963), 17.
[81] Turner, *Poet of the Future*, 5–6.

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Current Soviet Theory of History: New Trends or Old?

ARTHUR P. MENDEL*

OVER the past few years, Soviet historians and philosophers have been carrying on a curious discussion about the nature and methods of historical inquiry. It is too early to say with any confidence what the outcome will be. Taken by itself or set in the context of the "thaw" the discussion encourages cautious optimism. Still, historical publications look much the same as they did in Joseph Stalin's time, and many of the concepts and arguments I will be reviewing seem more like further developments of revisions in historical theory introduced under Stalin in the 1930's than reactions against them. It is also reasonable, although not necessarily correct, to claim party-political interests behind everything written in this field. But, however interpreted, the current discussion is remarkably fresh and interesting compared with customary Soviet publications on historical theory, the sacred domain, after all, of the *istmatchiki,* the historical materialists.

To judge from official party pronouncements, the aims and methods of Soviet history remain what they were under Stalin. "A historian is not a dispassionate reporter who identifies facts or even places them in a scientifically valid pattern," declared Central Committee Secretary and Academician B. N. Ponomarev in his opening address to the all-union conference of historians in December 1962. "He is a fighter who sees his goal in placing the history of the past at the service of the struggle for communism," and whose purpose it is to promote "a firm conviction of the inevitability of the triumph of communism." Similarly, we learn from a party Central Committee decree of October 1959 that secondary-school history courses should develop in students "a scholarly understanding of the laws of development of society, implant in them the conviction that the doom of capitalism and the victory of communism are inevitable. . . ." Since this is the task to be met by historians, the "obsolete, sterile problems and overly narrow, insufficiently topical, private, and incidental themes, which here and there still divert

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historians from the treatment of the pressing problems of historiography, must be resolutely swept aside."[1]

The dominant character and central concerns of the official declarations are represented by the above quotations, and only rarely does one encounter a hint of less doctrinaire judgments. In the current discussion on historical theory and methods by the historians themselves the proportion is reversed: the prevailing tone, the specific topics, and the quality of thought and argument are, relative to the official statements, refreshingly undoctrinaire; only occasionally do we find ourselves back in the dark age, usually at the beginning or end of an analysis or when some protection is required to cover too flagrantly "bourgeois" ideas.

Consider, for example, one of several less doctrinaire points made in Ponomarev's speech. As part of the general anti-Stalin campaign that was given an added thrust at the Twenty-second Party Congress in 1961, the party has continued to attack Stalin's "arbitrary," "subjective" distortions of history and has encouraged a limited return to the archives. Ponomarev, accordingly, decried the time when "as a rule, material in the archives was employed only to illustrate commonly-known propositions," and when "respect for facts, without which history as a science is unthinkable, was lost." Also, at the close of his speech, he quoted Lenin's exhortation to scholars "to take not individual facts, but the *entire totality* of the facts bearing upon the problem under consideration, *without a single exception*. . . ."[2] These admirably liberal comments stand out in glaring contrast to the rest of Ponomarev's speech. When they appear in the recent publications on historical theory, however, the contrast, while still there, is far less extreme.

First of all, the historians have naturally welcomed with enthusiasm the opportunity to attack Stalinist repression and intellectual corruption. At a conference on historical method arranged by the USSR Academy of Sciences in early 1964, for example, participants repeatedly denounced Sta-

[1] B. N. Ponomarev, "The Tasks Facing Historical Scholarship and the Training of History Teachers and Researchers," tr. from *Voprosy istorii* (No. 1, 1963), in *Soviet Studies in History*, II (No. 1, 1963), 5, 6; "Soviet Historiography at a New Stage of Development," tr. from *Voprosy istorii* (No. 8, 1960), in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, XII (Nov. 2, 1960), 11; "The Party Central Committee Resolution 'On the Tasks of Party Propaganda in Present-Day Conditions' and Historical Science," tr. from *Voprosy istorii* (No. 6, 1960), *ibid.* (Aug. 31, 1960), 8. In 1957 Soviet historians were sharply reprimanded for moving too near "bourgeois objectivity" during those hopeful months surrounding the Twentieth Party Congress. For an account of this repression, see Merle Fainsod, "Soviet Russian Historians, or the Lessons of Burdzhalov," *Encounter*, XVIII (Mar. 1962), 82–89, and Alexander Dallin, "Recent Soviet Historiography," in *Russia under Khrushchev*, ed. Abraham Brumberg (New York, 1962), 470–88.

[2] Ponomarev, "Tasks," 8, 26.

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linist historiography for its "arbitrary attitude toward the facts." Under Stalin "the most fundamental norms of scientific ethics were violated," one historian recalled, going on to remind the conference that "the value, the authority of historical investigation lies in its objectivity, in the truthfulness of the description of events and phenomena." History teachers were similarly criticized for confining their lectures within the "framework of a special set of ideas, quotations and propositions" and were urged to expose students to "doubts and unsolved problems" and to "the controversial ideas that promote independent thought."[3]

This concern for more scholarly objectivity (or, perhaps, only for works that appear to be more objective) is reflected in a number of recent tendencies familiar to students of Russian history, particularly the campaign against doctrinaire "quotism," that is, "proving" arguments by quotations from Marxist classics, and the related insistence on the careful study of primary sources. Both tendencies have received considerable attention in the West and need not concern us here, other than to mention that they continue to be prominent.[4] Another less familiar but perhaps more important expression of what seems to be a growing respect for scholarly objectivity is the current treatment of opposing views. Those who have not read recent Soviet reviews of Western thought, even anti-Marxist "idealistic" historical theory, would be surprised at both the completeness and the fairness of summaries and excerpts.[5]

Next to this apparently enhanced regard for professional integrity,[6] the

[3] Excerpts and summaries from the discussions at the 1964 conference were published in "O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh Istoricheskoi Nauki" [Concerning the Methodological Problems of Historical Science] *Voprosy istorii* (No. 3, 1964), 3–68. Later that year, a much fuller compilation was published as a separate volume, *Istoriia i sotsiologiia* [History and Sociology] (Moscow, 1964). For these and similar "anti-Stalin" declarations, see the conference coverage in *Voprosy istorii*, 4, 6, 8, 26, 33, 34, 38, 39, 44, 51, 53, 55, 57–59; and in *Istoriia i sotsiologiia*, 230, 234–35, 244–45.

[4] For a discussion of the return to the archives, see the relevant articles, particularly S. V. Utechin, "Soviet Historiography after Stalin," and George Katkov, "Soviet Historical Sources in the Post-Stalin Era," in *Contemporary History in the Soviet Mirror*, ed. John Keep and Lilianna Brisby (New York, 1964); see also translations in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, e.g., VII (No. 15, 1955), 20–21, and XIV (No. 8, 1962), 18–21. Here are two samples of current Soviet criticism of "quotism," both drawn from the 1964 conference. "Naturally, historians are no longer satisfied with stock formulas, based on nothing but a clever selection of quotations and often having nothing at all to do with the circumstances, country, or period about which a particular historian is writing." "Can one really limit oneself when explaining one or another set of historical phenomena to a few statements from the classics of Marxism that were relevant to concrete situations, and that were, moreover, based on a study of sources and literature accessible to them at that time, before the appearance of a great deal of new factual data?" (*Istoriia i sotsiologiia*, 274, 292.)

[5] One of the most remarkable illustrations of this tendency is a study very frequently cited by Soviet historians: I. S. Kon, *Filosofskii Idealizm i Krizis Burzhuaznoi Istoricheskoi Mysli* [Philosophical Idealism and the Crisis in Bourgeois Historical Thought] (Moscow, 1959).

[6] It may well be this concern that makes Soviet historians now so uncomfortable with the

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most persistent theme in the current discussion is the "respect for facts," the criticism of historians who use facts "only to illustrate commonly-known propositions." Both quotations, it will be recalled, are from Ponomarev's official party declaration. In making these statements, however, he was careful to associate them specifically with the attack against Stalin's abuses, and he avoided any inference that might undermine the "laws" and "commonly-known propositions," which, as we have seen, are still the *sine qua non* of the ideologists. In the analyses by the historians themselves, on the contrary, inferences drawn from the admonition to "respect the facts" are having precisely this effect.

A. V. Gulyga, of the Institute of Philosophy, touched the essential point when he maintained at the 1964 conference that "the fact in historical science is not supplanted by the generalization; it is an end in itself [*samodovleiushchaia tsenost*]."[7] In a field such as history, he wrote elsewhere, "which, along with generalization, also aims at description, factual material plays a special role, one that is different from that played in purely theoretical disciplines. The latter use factual data only to support generalizations." "For the historian," he continued, "the fact is not only material for generalization, not simply an example illustrating the action of a general law which can be left out or replaced by others."[8] The director of the Institute of History, Academician V. M. Khvostov, referred approvingly to Gulyga's statement about facts being ends in themselves in order to justify the historians' right to study facts simply for the sake of "enriching our factual knowledge."[9] The subjects historians study might seem petty and unrelated to specific problems, B. F. Porshnev, also of the Institute of History, added, but such themes are similar to the "preparatory experiments" in natural science necessary before more general studies are undertaken.[10] The main point, restated endlessly, is that the familiar, sweeping Marxist generalizations will no longer do: "History is concreteness at its maximum."[11] A lead article in

slogan attributed to M. N. Pokrovsky according to which "history is politics projected back into the past." See their rejection of this view of history and their denial of Pokrovsky's ever having expressed it in "Obsuzhdenie Stati S. M. Dubrovskogo 'Akademik M. N. Pokrovsky i Ego Rol v Razvitii Sovetskoi Istoricheskoi Nauki'" [A Discussion of S. M. Dubrovsky's Article "Academician M. N. Pokrovsky and His Role in the Development of Soviet Historical Science"], *Voprosy istorii* (No. 3, 1962), 34, 35, 37; and, A. V. Gulyga, "O Kharaktere Istoricheskogo Znaniia" [On the Character of Historical Knowledge], *Voprosy filosofii,* XVI (No. 9, 1962), 33. Here and elsewhere in this article the "soft sign" has been omitted in transliterations.

[7] "O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh," 37.

[8] Gulyga, "O Kharaktere," 32–33.

[9] *Istoriia i sotsiologiia,* 101.

[10] "O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh," 48.

[11] *Istoriia i sotsiologiia,* 313.

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Voprosy istorii on the treatment of historical subjects by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels referred to their concern with specific, concrete facts, and praised this attitude as "the categorical imperative of scientific ethics" and "the methodological requirement for scientific knowledge of the historical process."[12]

The most explicit and elaborate example that I have found illustrating this attempt to liberate the study of concrete historical facts from submission to Marxist laws and generalizations is contained in a prominently placed article by A. Ya. Gurevich, one of the most thoughtful contributors to the discussions. The general laws of historical materialism regarding the transition from one social system, or "formation," to another are true, Gurevich readily acknowledged, but they are simply not immediately relevant to the historian's inquiry.

> Most often, a scholar is necessarily concerned with a geographically limited and relatively brief phase of the historical process during which a general law may be only partly expressed by merely a few of its aspects or even a single one or it may not appear at all. . . . Does the scholar search his empirical data only for manifestations of the general law discussed above [that of transition from one system to another]? It is obvious that History requires concrete explanations of occurrences, and mere references to sociological laws do not solve the problem.

As a specific example, Gurevich discussed the historical materialist interpretation of the fall of the Roman Empire. After summarizing the familiar Marxist picture of socioeconomic development, class struggle, and revolution, he went on to write: "It is well known that for a long time this was how Soviet historiography explained the fall of the Roman Empire. However, this kind of approach failed every time one took into account concrete facts and processes of history." Above all, Gurevich insisted, the historian must regard categories of historical materialism simply as epistemological guides to research and not a priori, ontological descriptions of reality, which they are for philosophers. He rejected, furthermore, the "proposition long dominant in our intellectual life that there are no other laws of history besides the laws of historical materialism, interpreted and edited, moreover, subjectively." On the contrary, he argued, there is a great variety of causal patterns (which he considers synonymous with laws) besides

[12] N. E. Zastenker, "Problemy Istoricheskoi Nauki v Trudakh K. Marksa i F. Engelsa" [The Problems of Historical Science in the Works of K. Marx and F. Engels], *Voprosy istorii* (No. 6, 1964), 19. The current attitude toward Pokrovsky is relevant here also. Although rehabilitated with praise and honors, he continues to be criticized for his "naked" or "abstract" "sociologizing," and the dominant role he played in the twenties and early thirties is attributed to "the inadequate scientific preparation" of young historians at the time. ("Obsuzhdenie Stati S. M. Dubrovskogo," 34–35; "O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh," 53.)

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those associated with production, the focus of historical materialism. Whatever the general sociological law might say about the economic base of historical developments, "the concrete historical actions of people depend on the most diverse causes, among which, besides production, one must find a place for natural environment, national characteristics, psychology, ideology, external influences, all sorts of traditions, the level of cultural development, biological and demographic factors, and many others." As to the problem of deciding which are the most important: "It is hardly possible to establish a scale of factors a priori, to determine degrees of significance apart from a concrete empirical analysis of the interrelationships of these factors in a particular period and particular country." The historian must also realize, he noted, that different factors play dominant roles at different times.

Concerning the question of "accidents" and unpredictable, alternative paths of historical development, Gurevich was particularly frank. After indignantly denouncing attempts to portray Marxism as a "materialistic interpretation of Biblical eschatology," a secularized faith in "providential history," he analyzed at length the category of "possibility" in history. There is nothing at all predetermined in history, he insisted, and simply because something actually happened does not mean that nothing else could have happened. For example, neither Hitler's rise to power nor World War II was inevitable, and merely because the "basic conditions" for revolution were present did not mean that revolution must occur. Without specific reference to Engels, Gurevich criticized his contention that "historical law cuts a way for itself through the chaos of accidents." As with the general law on transitions, Gurevich considered this theory correct, "but only on the level of sociology!" Such "macrolaws" are not the immediate concern of historians who study specific events and for whom "the possible varieties of historical process are extremely diverse and pregnant with the most serious consequences for its later development."[13]

> Every historical event is the result of a convergence of many contributing conditions. A different convergence might result in a different event which, influenced by all the remaining factors, would in turn lead to consequences different from those that in fact occurred and, thus, there would begin an entire chain of events and phenomena—a different variant of development. . . .[14]

[13] A. Ya. Gurevich, "Obshchii Zakon i Konkretnaia Zakonomernost v Istorii" [General Law and Concrete Regularities in History], *Voprosy istorii* (No. 8, 1965), 15, 16, 19, 22, 23, 26. Gurevich, a professor at Kalinin Pedagogic Institute, is a specialist in medieval English and Norwegian history.

[14] "The historian who regards the historical process as something ineluctable," Gurevich continued this argument, "and begins with the conviction that what in fact occurred was the

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Thus, once interest focuses on specific facts, their individual attributes and kaleidoscopic conjunctions cannot so easily be encompassed by general laws. Reality becomes complex and elusive. And, indeed, the words "complex" and "diverse" appear as frequently in recent Soviet historiography as do "concrete" and "specific," and usually in association with them. The good Marxist historian presents history "in all its immense diversity," while the bourgeois scholar is accused of squeezing complex reality into narrow schemata. Even the great social transformations that used to unfold, at least in theory, so neatly and orderly are now set in a context of "the most variegated assortment of different economic systems, social systems, unprecedented diversity of traditions, customs, and living conditions." Consequently, the author of this statement continued, a major task facing Soviet historians is "the reconsideration of the theory of knowledge and the problems of its application in analyzing the particularly complex and variable phenomena of social life."[15] The following statement by Gulyga represents an adequate summary of this part of the current discussions:

> [The historians'] task is to re-create historical reality through a unity of necessity and contingency, to reconstruct the course that humanity has actually traversed, with all its zigzags, all the diversity and unique individuality of the events that have occurred. A pattern of the historical process is not yet history, just as the subject and the concept do not yet make a work of art. Each historical event possesses individual attributes characteristic of it alone, and to disclose these and preserve them for posterity is just as much the responsibility of the historian as is the generalization of materials studied by him.[16]

Is this what Ponomarev had in mind when he talked about "respect for facts"? It would seem to be one thing to use this line as part of the campaign against Stalin, but quite another to use it as part of an argument that is increasingly separating historical research from the Marxist laws and predic-

only possible result of all that came before, incorrectly ignores other, unrealized possibilities, does not study different and, perhaps, mutually contradictory tendencies of development." (*Ibid.*, 26–27.) Gurevich is hardly alone in this shift away from determinism and inevitability. The same point is argued by M. Ya. Gefter, "O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh," 48; Zastenker, "Problemy," 20; E. N. Gorodetsky, "Voprosy Metodologii Istoricheskogo Issledovaniia v Posleoktiabrskikh Trudakh V. I. Lenina" [Questions concerning the Methodology of Historical Research in the Post-October Works of V. I. Lenin], *Voprosy istorii* (No. 6, 1963), 32. Near the close of a lengthy survey of the evolution of Soviet historiography published in the leading party journal, *Kommunist,* we find the authors lamenting the absence of "a scholarly work containing a comprehensive answer to the question of why it should have been Russia that became the birthplace of Leninism and that was the first to throw off the domination of the exploiters." (*Current Digest of the Soviet Press,* XIII [Aug. 23, 1961], 17–18.) Even more surprising is G. E. Glezerman's complaint that "the particular characteristics of causal relations in history have been very little studied," that "there is not a single work" on this theme by a Soviet author. ("O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh," 43; for further comment on this important theme, see note 17, below.)

[15] "O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh," 5, 8, 47–48.

[16] Gulyga, "O Kharaktere," 32.

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tions that have from the beginning provided the principal source of legitimacy for party rule.[17]

At several places in Ponomarev's speech he also commented on another theme that has become a leitmotiv for the methodologists: the historians' return to "the richness of colors and gradations that one finds in real life." He urged historians to show more concern for style, and he warmly recommended "pre-revolutionary Russian, Soviet, and foreign" historical works as "first-class models."[18] In his response to the principal paper delivered at the 1964 conference, the editor of *Voprosy istorii,* V. G. Trukhanovsky, echoed these views when he said that he was "most pleased by the appeal of the speakers to historians to write living history, with flesh and blood, emotions and passions." Explicitly associating the "living" quality of history as it should be written with the emphasis on the "concrete facts," Yu. S. Borisov asserted that "authentic historical scholarship excludes stilted schematism and illustrationism: it is always factual in the best sense of the word, because it reconstructs the past in all its full-bodied, many-colored, living clarity."[19]

L. V. Cherepnin, long a leading Soviet medievalist, used an article on N. V. Gogol as a historian to argue the need for historians to capture the unique, vital, personal aspects of their subjects: "Gogol was interested in everything, the people's customs, ceremonies, holidays, superstitions, clothing and the like." He avoided "bare abstractions," wanted to know " 'the true existence, the essential characteristics, all the shifts and shades of feeling, excitement, suffering and joys' " of his subjects, and gave special attention to such things as music, art, and fashions as sources for what was worth knowing about people.[20]

[17] The sad state of *zakonomernost,* the term used to denote historical and social "laws," is a revealing indication of the demise of rigorous determinism. It would be worth a separate study to show the different ways the term is used, since each new usage increases the ambiguity and undermines the essential purpose of the concept, which is, to recall Ponomarev's injunction, to inspire "a firm conviction of the inevitability of the triumph of Communism." It is now used to refer to constants persisting through history, to typical or repeated social relations, or to the core attribute of a society reflected in its various facets. Most often, "laws" are mentioned briefly as the "essence" "hidden" somewhere within the complex fabric of events then dismissed as the historian turns to the serious business of working with the factual events themselves. Perhaps its most general usage is as a synonym for causal relation of any kind, permitting the statement, for example, that realism in art is the "lawful [*zakonomernyi*] result of an artistic comprehension of life." In fact there seems now to be little that distinguishes the term from its common meaning of reasonable or intelligible, as in the phrases "We consider this completely reasonable [*zakonomerno*] for the progress of social science," or "It is entirely reasonable [*zakonomerno*] to put the question: what is historical methodology." In short we have come a long way from the time Plekhanov proclaimed euphorically that history à la Marx was "going to its logical conclusion with the ineluctable character of astronomical phenomena."

[18] Ponomarev, "Tasks," 15, 26.

[19] "O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh," 44; *Istoriia i sotsiologiia,* 322.

[20] L. V. Cherepnin, "Istoricheskie Vzgliadi Gogolia" [The Historical Views of Gogol], *Voprosy istorii* (No. 1, 1964), 77–78, 82, 90–91. In Cherepnin's words, Gogol believed "that

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Both here and to a lesser extent in the concern for more factual and less dogmatic history one can easily appreciate the party's motives for promoting these arguments. History books written in the familiar Soviet manner are simply not read. Compared to the citizen of the thirties and forties there is indeed a "new Soviet man," and the change affects the consumption of literature and history no less than shoes: the shoddy and crude stay on the shelves.[21] But here again, as in the preceding theme, the historians seem to go farther than necessary in supporting the party's interests. And, after all, party interests or not, historical works that are closer to the facts and that are written in a way that brings alive the events of the past are better history than those written in the Stalinist manner. The question becomes who is using whom. Are the party ideologists using the historians to make their propaganda more effective, or are the historians taking advantage of a fortunate conjunction of interests to improve the quality of Soviet historical research and publication?

The same question can be raised with regard to another major theme in these recent publications on historical theory: the emphasis on the role of human will and goals in determining the course of historical development. "History is *nothing but* the activity of man pursuing his aims"—such is the classic quotation from Marx most often brought in to legitimize this voluntarist position. There has always been, of course, a tension in Marxism between an emphasis on objective, ineluctable economic laws necessary to guarantee victory and a large role for political initiative demanded for revolutionary leadership and self-sacrifice. Leninism and Stalinism represent successive heightening of the tension, with the advantage steadily increasing on the side of voluntarism. Essentially the reverse side of the attack on abstract, "sociological" generalization, this voluntaristic theory of history (as well as of politics, economics, and psychology) was a fundamental part of Stalin's "great retreat," and it is important for an understanding of the main trends of Soviet life and thought to appreciate the persistence of this theme. Party leadership, the vanguard of the proletariat, consciousness over spon-

the work of a historian should not merely provide material for the literary writer but should itself, without losing its own specific character, represent an artistic production affecting the feeling and imagination of the reader as well as his mind." How wonderfully different Soviet historical works would become if Soviet scholars took heed of Cherepnin's implicit prompting here, through the medium of Gogol, to involve themselves in "the expressiveness, color, diversity of the unfolding pictures of the past, whose incessant change provides such a fascinating study. . . ." (*Ibid.*, 78.)

[21] For references to the poor response of Soviet readers to Soviet history books, see "O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh," 21, 57, 59, and *Istoriia i sotsiologiia*, 285. For a Madison Avenue approach to this problem, see *ibid.*, 248, where we find one enterprising participant in the 1964 conference urging history publications "on good paper, illustrated with colorful pictorial reproductions and at an inexpensive price."

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taneity, the primacy of politics over economics in socialist revolution and "Communist construction," the socialist hero in literature, the high rewards for achievers in all spheres of Soviet life—these and many other characteristic aspects of Stalin's Russia were associated with such voluntarism or, better, idealism.[22]

What are the theorists doing with it now? The theme itself appears constantly. Such statements as the following, expressed at the 1964 conference, are common: "Gifted with consciousness and will, people make their own history and in this sense come forth not as the passive objects of history, but as its subjects, as its active, creative force, transforming reality in the course of historical practice."[23]

This emphasis on will as a determinant force in history obviously continues to have great political value. In his outspoken article directed against those exaggerating the place of objective social laws or alleged inevitabilities in history, Gurevich repeatedly stressed the importance of "energy and enterprise of leaders, parties, and classes." With such activism, Hitler and World War II could have been stopped, and, without it, revolutions do not occur even if the "basic" objective conditions are present.[24] The Bolshevik victory in 1917 provides a fine example, for it was due above all to Lenin's ability to appreciate the role of the "subjective" political factor, in decisive contrast to the "turgid dogmatism" of the Mensheviks, who thought only about the "insufficient development of productive forces and the small number of proletariat," and the "metaphysical approach" of the "Right Opportunists," like Lev Kamenev and Alexei Rykov, who were against moving from the "democratic" to the "socialist" phase of revolution after the February upheaval.[25]

Understandably it is with reference to the "liberation movement" that such voluntarism now finds its most frequent and unmistakable expression. There is no longer any doubt about skipping the "stage of capitalism" or, with regard to Africa, both feudalism and capitalism, of advancing directly from feudalism or tribalism to socialism.[26] It is frankly acknowledged, more-

[22] Still the best analysis of Stalin's radical "idealization" of Soviet historiography is Klaus Mehnert, *Stalin versus Marx* (London, 1952). For the complete account of this transformation through its several stages, see Konstantin F. Shteppa, *Russian Historians and the Soviet State* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1962).

[23] G. M. Ivanov, "Svoeobrazie Protsessa Otrazheniia Deistvitelnosti v Istoricheskoi Nauke" [The Particular Process of the Reflection of Reality in Historical Science], *Voprosy istorii* (No. 2, 1962), 21.

[24] Gurevich, "Obshchii Zakon," 24–26.

[25] "O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh," 31–32; Gorodetsky, "Voprosy Metodologii," 23, 30; *Istoriia i sotsiologiia,* 271, 307, 317.

[26] "O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh," 27; *Istoriia i sotsiologiia,* 273. The theory holding that "the whole world follows one and the same series of stages" must be rejected, according

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over, that the key factor allowing this extraordinary violation of objective, Marxist "laws" is the contribution of external influences.[27] Gurevich gave historical examples to illustrate this view when, in connection with his emphasis on the importance of "accidents" in history, he referred to the impact of foreign colonial powers on the development of native societies. Similarly, he considered the decisive factor in the fall of the Roman Empire (the factor neglected by the customary Marxist picture of transitions generated from within a given society) to be the barbarian invasions.[28]

Still, here as in the case of the preceding topics, theorists seem to go beyond the point necessary for meeting political interests, in the direction, that is, of serious methodological reflection. In the article just discussed, for example, Gurevich suggested that objective tendencies, where they did obtain, were the resultants, or the "statistical average," of different individual

to K. A. Antonova, because "before our very eyes the industrial development of new Asiatic and African nations is occurring in a manner so very unlike that of the classical European model. . . ." (*Ibid.*, 282.) An interesting expression of this more flexible approach to social development is the revival of Marx's "Asiatic Mode of Production" theory repressed by Stalin. (*Ibid.*, 275; Gulyga, "O Kharaktere," 30; Zastenker, "Problemy," 5.)

[27] M. I. Braginsky, of the Academy of Science's African Institute, argued the case quite reasonably. The Marxists were right and the Populists wrong in their debate over the chances of Russia's skipping the stage of capitalism, he writes, because such a leap could only occur if Russia had the support of an advanced society that had already moved on to socialism. Sadly, this had not happened. But things were different now: socialist Russia could provide the helping hand to underdeveloped economies lacking just about all the necessary, objective conditions for a Marxist socialist revolution. (*Istoriia i sotsiologiia,* 265–74.) Braginsky brings out clearly the relationship between this argument and idealistic voluntarism: "When we speak of a noncapitalist path of development, we must keep in mind not only the objective factors, but also the subjective." (*Ibid.*, 271.) See also G. E. Glezerman, "K Voprosu o Predmete Istoricheskogo Materializma" [Concerning the Question of the Subject of Historical Materialism], *Voprosy filosofii,* XIV (No. 3, 1960), 12.

[28] Gurevich, "Obshchii Zakon," 15, 26. Besides this relationship between theoretical voluntarism and the practical politics of "national liberation," one might argue a similar connection between the latter and the shift by historians from the "general" to the "concrete" discussed above. The paramount concern of Russian Marxists before and immediately after the October Revolution was to prove both the universality of Marx's historical patterns and the orthodoxy of the Bolshevik victory. The result of this was to exaggerate to absurd degrees the "capitalist" development of prerevolutionary Russia. Today the main political concern is to present Russia as a model for the underdeveloped economies, an example of rapid progress from an underdeveloped economy to a highly advanced one. Consequently, one finds historians criticized for underestimating the persisting feudal elements in prerevolutionary Russia as well as a new emphasis on the similarities between Russia on the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution and present-day underdeveloped societies. For example: "While linked through its monopolies with the imperialist West, Russian capitalism as an object of study is far more relevant and instructive for contemporary developing countries because of its contradictions, its social complexity, the immense gentry latifundia, the adaptation of the wealthy bourgeoisie to fit the remnants of serfdom, the union between the landed class and the wealthy capitalists, with political predominance for the landowners and economic predominance for the capitalists." To illustrate his point, the author went on to note the remarkable similarities between conditions of Russian life as described in the works of L. N. Tolstoi and A. P. Chekhov and those prevalent today in the underdeveloped societies. (A. Ya. Avrekh, "K Voprosu o Metodakh Istoricheskogo Issledovaniia" [Concerning the Question of the Methods of Historical Research], *Voprosy istorii* [No. 10, 1963], 110–20; *Istoriia i sotsiologiia,* 308–10.) Politically motivated or not, this return to "concrete" Russian realities can only be welcomed by Western scholars.

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"wills, emotions, ideas, predispositions, and personal, social, and class interests." Also, he continued, while such individual actions are based on conditions, that is, determined in the sense of being caused, "this determinism can never be complete, totally reducible to the influence of sociological laws: to one degree or another human action is autonomous, both with regard to its causes and to the results it achieves." History, he wrote toward the end of the article, and I am uncertain of the level of insight involved, is not the memory of humanity and society so much as it is their "self-consciousness."[29]

As noted earlier, Soviet historians are finding a fundamental difference between history and natural science in their contrasting approaches to individual events. In the "colossal degree," as Gurevich put it, to which events and conditions in history depend on human will and aims,[30] they now see another distinction between these two realms of being and inquiry. Whereas forces in nature "are blind and unconscious," Gulyga wrote, "society consists of people endowed with consciousness and will who set for themselves specific aims and strive to realize them." Consequently, he continued, in virtually the same phrases that Gurevich used, "regularity emerges as a kind of resultant of millions of individual actions. A social law, therefore, is realized only in an approximate way."[31] G. E. Glezerman seems to go a step further by spelling out the separation between historical study and dialectical materialism implicit in these definitions:

> Dialectical materialism regards as materialistic those objects, phenomena, and relationships that exist apart from and independent of human consciousness. But social life is different from that in nature, since social phenomena and relationships are the result of human actions, and people are conscious beings.[32]

Making explicit the question begged by all this, M. T. Yovchuk declared: "It is now necessary to concern ourselves with creating—if it can be so expressed—a Marxist, scientific phenomenology of the spirit. . . ."[33]

[29] Gurevich, "Obshchii Zakon," 17–18, 29. In a footnote, Gurevich makes it explicitly clear that by autonomy here he means more than the familiar Marxist "reciprocal relationship" between the substructure and the superstructure. Existence does determine consciousness, he agreed, in the sense that the "spiritual life of society" is influenced constantly by "economic, social, biological, and natural-geographical" factors. (Even this listing is remarkable.) Nevertheless, he continued, this spiritual life is "to a certain extent self-determined, possessing its own laws," and the historian should keep this self-determination of the spiritual life in mind and not only its "interrelationship with the base." (*Ibid.*, 18, n. 14.)

[30] *Ibid.*, 27.

[31] Gulyga, "O Kharaktere," 31.

[32] Glezerman, "K Voprosu," 9.

[33] "O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh," 58. The way toward such a "phenomenology" was paved by Stalin's long and emphatic stress on the ideological and political superstructure. Although Stalin's last party congress, the nineteenth, and his last ex cathedra pronouncement, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* (New York, 1952), gave evidence of a return toward the "objective" and "lawful," the subjective idealistic position has become increasingly bold since his death. In addition to publications already cited, particularly Gurevich's, see,

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In what is perhaps his most important article, Gurevich boldly pressed on toward precisely such a "phenomenology of the spirit" by urging Soviet historians to pay more attention to psychology. Since individuals and masses "are the subjects of historical actions, their authors and executors," he wrote, the historian

must consider in each concrete case how the social life he studies is reflected in the minds of people, articulated into concepts, images, and feelings and how, after undergoing an appropriate subjective transformation, these factors determine peoples' actions, moving separate individuals as well as social groups and masses to one or another activity.[34]

The central theme of Gurevich's argument lies in the phrase "subjective transformation," found near the end of the last quotation. It is not enough to study such "objective factors" as the "economic, social, political, and ideological," since these do not act "mechanically and directly" but rather through the minds of people, through the prism of a particular social psychology.[35] As recommended examples of historians who made use of psychology in historical analysis, he noted Georges Lefebvre and his "Marxist" students Albert Soboul and George Rudé. But he urged as well the study of Western bourgeois scholars, including Max Weber, Georg Simmel, Werner Sombart, Lucien Febvre, and Johan Huizinga.[36] Of these, he gave

e.g., the attack by philosophers V. F. Asmus and M. M. Rozental against those who try to derive philosophy from class or other economic categories. (V. F. Asmus, "Nekotorye Voprosy Dialektiki Istoriko-Filosofskogo Protsessa i Evo Poznaniia" [Several Problems of the Dialectics of the Historical-Philosophical Process and Our Knowledge about It], *Voprosy filosofii*, XV [No. 4, 1961], 111–12, 115–17, 121–23; M. M. Rozental, "O Sviazi Filosofskikh Teorii s Ekonomicheskim Bazisom" [On the Connections between Philosophical Theory and the Economic Base], *ibid.*, XIV [No. 3, 1960], 146–47.) A. M. Deborin similarly warns against considering philosophy exclusively from the point of view of its relationship to extraneous factors and giving too little attention to the "relatively independent, inner, logical development, the historical continuity of universal scientific thought." (A. M. Deborin, "Ob Istorizme Vozzrenii V. G. Belinskogo" [On Historicism in the Views of V. G. Belinsky], *Voprosy istorii* [No. 3, 1962], 53.)

[34] A. Ya. Gurevich, "Nekotorye Aspekty Izucheniia Sotsialnoi Istorii" [Several Aspects of the Study of Social History], *ibid.* (No. 10, 1964), 55. This article appeared approximately a year before the article by Gurevich discussed above. The articles are obviously two aspects of a single and dramatically idealistic argument. Unless the themes in this 1964 article had the complete approval of party authorities, it is hardly likely that Gurevich's 1965 article would have been published at all, much less honored with first mention on the cover list of contents.

[35] As an illustration, Gurevich described at considerable length the way economic aims and activities in ancient and medieval societies were "linked with a complex of images and instincts unrelated to economics." "For the member of such a society, ceremonies and magic were as essential as (and perhaps even more important than) production itself in agriculture, cattle breeding, and handicrafts," and economic activity was closely interwoven with religion, both directly through morality and indirectly through law. (*Ibid.*, 59.) It may be more than a coincidence that Gurevich chose for this exercise in psychological reductionism those very economic activities that had for so long reigned in the realm of "the final analysis," the irreducible, ultimate motivating force of all social and historical processes.

[36] *Ibid.*, 54, 66.

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particular attention to Huizinga and his psychological analysis of the waning of the Middle Ages. From Gurevich's excellent summaries of Huizinga's argument one sees a willingness to give fair treatment to non-Marxist, even idealistic and Freudian, interpretations, and, when considered along with the rest of his article, perhaps also Gurevich's own inclination toward the same approach.[37]

If the emphasis on will and emotions and the consequent search for a "phenomenology of the spirit" help undermine oversimplified categories of historical materialism by directing attention to complex personal motivations, they also do so by encouraging an awareness of ethical and intellectual themes that have accompanied the evolution of the human spirit throughout its history, disregarding "class" divisions, contrasting socioeconomic "formations," and Marxist "periodization." A fascinating article by the Orientalist N. I. Konrad provides a fine illustration.[38]

Konrad's concern is to find the meaning of history. As one might expect, he finds the meaning in progress. But throughout the essay both the content and the dynamics of progress are described in a remarkably unmaterialistic manner. Only midway in the article do we find as a sign of progress the theme with which one would expect a Soviet article like this to begin: economic advance. And even this is treated in a strangely un-Marxian manner. We are told that from the beginning man had to assure his material conditions, but the supporting quotations come not from Marx or Lenin but from ancient Chinese proverbs. The criterion recommended for economic periodization is, moreover, totally unrelated to the usual Marxian categories of class theory: Konrad suggests the division of history into the era of natural materials and the "Polymer age" of synthetics.[39]

[37] "A fear of hell and a naïve joy of life were so close in the minds of the people of the time that they sometimes merged. Cruelty and kindness, vengeance and indulgence, love and hate, greed and generosity—these abruptly interchanged. Emotional tension was extraordinarily great. . . . Man swayed between extremes of behavior, between the ideal and the base. On the lower, unconscious level of the psyche were all shades of desire and inclination, repressed by a conformist society and its severe ethics. On the higher level of conscious aims, only the most elevated motivations, the Christian virtues, approved by society and morality were permitted. The split between the two levels of the psyche, the intense strain arising between them was the source of the intense emotionality and the fluctuations from one extreme to the other." (*Ibid.*, 66.) It has been a long time since this sort of thing appeared in a Soviet publication.

[38] N. I. Konrad, "Notes on the Meaning of History," tr. from *Vestnik Istorii Mirovoi Kultury* (No. 2, 1961), in *Soviet Studies in History*, I (No. 1, 1962).

[39] *Ibid.*, 13. Konrad's discussion of economic exploitation, when it does come, could be interpreted as much as an attack on the Soviet system as on any other: "Exploitation results in various forms of social relations, of which two are the most clearly defined—exploitation by non-economic compulsion, i.e., outright force, and exploitation by economic compulsion. *Both forms include variants determined by different relationships of the exploited to the tools and means of production* and, in conjunction therewith, different situations relative to the exploiter." (*Ibid.* [italics mine].) Whether intended or not, there is present in this abstract

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The major index of progress, to which virtually the entire article is devoted, is the gradual extension of culture and, especially, the growth in man's knowledge of nature, society, and man himself. We meet little from Marx, Engels, or Lenin in all this. By way of introduction to each area of progress in knowledge (nature, society, man himself), we find instead quotations from ancient Chinese wisdom, and throughout this section the reader passes through a fine array of illustrative reference to mythology, religious symbolism, and classical philosophy.[40]

The most striking theme of the article comes in the final section. Man's conquest of nature and his rational achievements in general are judged inadequate in themselves as evidence of progress. The advance of rational knowledge can be considered truly progressive only when united to "the social principle in man's nature." To show that for him this is more than the usual propaganda slogan, Konrad again surveyed the sweep of history and related his "social principle" to the Confucian pictogram for "sympathy," Buddhist "compassion," the teachings of Jesus, and the ideals of the Renaissance.[41] Thus, notwithstanding his explicit emphasis on "progress," Konrad's splendid essay surveys and honors the fundamental human values that have persisted through the course of history. At the end of the article he offered elaborate homage to the concept that represents for him a unity of the two values that pervade the essay as its central themes: reason and charity. The concept is humanism, and in his lengthy praise of it, it seems to me, one finds a meeting of Soviet idealism and the heritage cherished by the West.

The above themes concern current Soviet theories on the proper subject matter for historical inquiry. But theories of the known and theories of knowledge go together. When the selection and treatment of subjects are guided by pre-established patterns, abstracted from individual events, historians can easily claim the attainment of objective, "scientific" laws. Indeed, the entire process is notoriously circular. A host of epistemological problems arises, however, when the concrete facts are brought back in, when an effort is made to grasp and communicate the dynamic complexities and

formulation the system of economic and/or political compulsion *without* private property which has always been a central theme in the revisionists' contest with Soviet Marxists.

[40] *Ibid.*, 14–17.

[41] *Ibid.*, 20–21. Toward the end of the article, the ethical factor emerges as the essential and distinguishing one in human history: "the truly great achievement of mankind and, perhaps, the highest manifestation of progress is the fact that people . . . called evil, evil; coercion, coercion; crime, crime. The very appearance of the concepts denoted by these terms is proof of progress, for these words did not merely describe phenomena and actions, but evaluated and drastically condemned them." (*Ibid.*, 21.)

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the "living," elusive quality of reality, and when the ideological "superstructure," including even unconscious motivations, not only gains autonomy, but becomes increasingly a major "moving force" in history.

First of all, to "respect the facts" means to raise that essential problem of all historical study, the problem of selection. As Gulyga wrote, "the historian must select facts and interpret them. He faces a problem in logic. What criteria should be used in the selection of factual material?"[42] Others as well are raising this fundamental question, which in Western historiography fostered relativism, subjectivism, and skepticism. The phrasing of a similar statement by Glezerman is even more reminiscent of the early years of relativist thought in the West.

I would like first of all to say something about the theory of knowledge in historical science. There is much here that still remains meagerly studied, particularly concerning the epistemological analysis of the nature of the historical fact. The special character of history as a science consists in the fact that it is mainly concerned with the past, with that which has left its imprint on contemporary conditions of society, but which no longer exists. In contrast to the natural scientist, who has immediately before him the object of his investigation, and in contrast with the sociologist, whose subject is society after it has attained a certain level of development, the historian is concerned with historical facts belonging mainly to the past. Consequently we face here the task of re-creating the historical fact. What should be the criteria for selection from the endless diversity of phenomena those that are most characteristic, those we call historical fact?[43]

In an article on Lenin as a historian, G. M. Ivanov attempted to reconcile objectivity and subjectivity by proposing an approach that he called "retrospective knowledge," by which the historian is to use insights and concepts reflecting the later development of a particular phenomenon in order to understand its earlier phases, taking care, however, not to read back present meanings into the past. As one might imagine, it is no simple matter for Ivanov to prove that this is entirely different from the presentist position.[44]

[42] "O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh," 36–37. Elsewhere, Gulyga elaborated on this view somewhat: "One can determine the actual facts but present a distorted picture of the events, because all facts are not equivalent. There are important, determining facts and there are facts of secondary importance. . . . What criteria are there for selecting facts? How can one avoid here subjectivism and arbitrariness?" (Gulyga, "O Kharaktere," 34.)

[43] "O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh," 43.

[44] Ivanov, "Svoeobrazie Protsessa Otrazheniia," 31–35. Ivanov here also expresses another of the difficulties that fostered historical relativism in the West. "Of course, since man is both the subject of historical development and, at the same time, the subject of historical knowledge, he is learning his own history when studying the past, and, in this sense, historical reality and historical consciousness coincide. . . . Since the object of investigation is the history of human society and not the history of nature, it is significantly more difficult in historical science than it is in natural science to solve the problem of the relationship between the object and the subject." (*Ibid.*, 21, 22.) In his usually frank manner, Gulyga dots the "i" when he states simply that "history makes no claims to the laurels of natural science; it has other

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An acceptance of part of the relativist argument seems implicit also in V. F. Asmus' statement that ideas "are never simply selected, but undergo a certain change, a re-evaluation," that besides being chosen because they "are suitable for supporting present-day views about reality," they are "brought nearer the present by means of a particular kind of revision, of alteration."[45] We have already met the same view in Gurevich's article on social psychology. In an article on French archival studies, O. M. Medushevskaia offered still another example when she wrote that "before either serving as the cornerstone of investigation or being thrown out as insignificant, the fact must pass through the prism of the historian's consciousness, become known to him and evaluated by him."[46]

One may suggest a variety of factors contributing to the emergence of such subjectivism, besides, that is, the strong tendencies in that direction in Marx's relativistic sociology of knowledge.[47] It may well result from the problems of selection, once guiding "laws" are abandoned in favor of a "respect for facts," and empathy, once the historian turns his attention to human will and to the "richness of color and gradations" in human experience. Such, at any rate, was the case in Western historiography. Or, perhaps, the impact of the "new physics" on social and historical thought that has been so long familiar in the West is beginning to be felt by Soviet theorists. Since the victory of Soviet scientists over the "philosophers" and the consequent acceptance of relativity theory, indeterminateness, and so forth, this would seem a likely development.[48] In this connection one should keep in mind

possibilities and problems." (Gulyga, "O Kharaktere," 31.) Since it is common knowledge that much of Soviet ideology and political practice rests ultimately on the assumed affinity between history and natural science, the significance of this line of thought should be self-evident.

[45] Asmus, "Nekotorye Voprosy," 112.

[46] O. M. Medushevskaia, "Voprosy Teorii Istochnikovedeniia v Sovremennoi Frantsuzskoi Burzhuaznoi Istoriografii" [On the Question of the Theory of Source Research in Contemporary French Bourgeois Historiography], *Voprosy istorii* (No. 8, 1964), 81–82.

[47] In connection with the current emphasis on greater objectivity, Soviet scholars like to recall Marx's attack on those "base" persons who "subordinate facts to predetermined aims" drawn from other than scholarly considerations, or Engels' similar judgment that "any scholar who subordinates science to his ideal 'cannot be considered a man of science since he begins with preconceived ideas.'" But how can the Soviet historian heed these commendable exhortations when he is so often reminded that "one of the particular characteristics of the reflection of reality in historical science consists in the fact that it always takes place, consciously or unconsciously, through the prism of class interests; since it is not people in general, not some general subject, but a completely concrete subject, the bearer of the interests of a particular class, who apprehends historical reality and the struggle of social classes, in regard to which he cannot be impartial." (Ivanov, "Svoeobrazie Protsessa Otrazheniia," 24, 31; Medushevskaia, "Teorii Istochnikovedeniia," 81; Zastenker, "Problemy," 23; *Istoriia i sotsiologiia*, 244.)

[48] The Polish physicist Leopold Infeld said it all in a sentence: "As one of the most distinguished Soviet physicists informed me, physicists no longer read the Soviet philosophical journals and they don't care a damn what the philosophers [i.e., dialectical materialists] have

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the monistic character of Marxist and Soviet epistemology, according to which the science of nature and the "science of society" share common assumptions, "categories," and methods.[49]

If something of this sort is occurring, it would certainly be helped by the remarkably full and fair summaries and quotations of Western "idealistic" historiography in works designed to "unmask" such theories. As long as Soviet students and scholars knew little or nothing about Benedetto Croce, R. G. Collingwood, Heinrich Rickert, Charles Beard, Carl Becker, and the like, the dogmatists could more easily get away with ritualistic pronouncements and *ad hominem* denunciations. But the contrast between such primitivism and the sophisticated Western thought and argument now openly displayed in extended paraphrases and quotations is too crudely glaring. Having presented these Western views,[50] Soviet theorists

to say." (Leopold Infeld, "As I See It," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* XXI [Feb. 1965], 14.) The Russian physicist, P. L. Kapitsa, is no less explicit. "If, then, our scientists had listened to the philosophers in 1954 and had accepted this definition [of cybernetics as 'a reactionary pseudoscience'] as a guide for the further development of this science, it can safely be said that the conquest of cosmic space, of which we are all legitimately proud and for which the entire world respects us, could not have taken place, because it is impossible to direct spaceships without cybernetic machines." Or again: "It is still fresh in many people's minds how a number of our philosophers, dogmatically applying the method of dialectics, demonstrated that the theory of relativity was without foundations. . . . And so the physicists carried out a number of nuclear reactions and verified Einstein's law not with individual atoms but on the scale of the atom bomb." (P. L. Kapitsa, "Theory, Experiment, Practice," tr. from *Ekonomicheskaya gazeta* [Mar. 26, 1962], in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press,* XIV [No. 19, 1962], 14–15.)

[49] Here, too, politics may be served. If, as discussed above, the stress on "energy and enterprise" and other subjective factors in history has political value, so, clearly, does the emphasis on epistemological subjectivism. In listing criteria for selecting data, Gulyga included the "criterion of value" and went on to explain this by saying that "the historian frequently turns his attention to facts that play no role in the causal chain of past events, but that are of interest to contemporaries." In a later article, after restating this theme, he compared such historical events as displays of military heroism with artistic productions, since both were valued not for their place in a past causal pattern but for their effect on people today. This calls to mind a reference by Ponomarev to earlier Russian military battles with Germany, since "they alert the people to vigilance against the revival of aggressive forces in West Germany." Is the criterion for selecting facts and events still to be, and now admittedly, only propaganda potency? ("O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh," 37; A. V. Gulyga, "Poniatie i Obraz v Istoricheskoi Nauke" [Understanding and Image in Historical Science], *Voprosy istorii* [No. 9, 1965], 10, 14; see also Gurevich, "Obshchii Zakon," 29.)

[50] Unfortunately space does not permit a discussion of this welcome tolerance of Western thought. For examples, see Asmus, "Nekotorye Voprosy," 123; Deborin, "Ob Istorizme," 62–63; *Istoriia i sotsiologiia,* 275; "Obsuzhdenie Stati S. M. Dubrovskogo," 38; Medushevskaia, "Teorii Istochnikovedeniia," 88; Zastenker, "Problemy," 21–22. During the first, tense weeks of the Viet Nam crisis, in February 1965, a group of about fifty books on American history written mainly by American "bourgeois" historians was on display in one of the most conspicuous sections of the Lenin Library in Moscow, visible to everyone passing from the main catalogue halls to the central reading room. The revival in Soviet dialectics of the "negation of the negation" concept, suppressed by Stalin, seems at least in part due to this willingness to accept the emergence of bourgeois tendencies in Soviet life and thought. "The 'second negation' represents a surmounting of the limitations of the 'first,' a particular kind of necessary 'historical corrective' to it," correcting the excesses committed by the first negation in its too thorough destruction of the "thesis." (O. O. Yakhot, "Otritsanie i Preemstven-

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seem to feel the need to work out more imaginative responses.

In Gurevich's discussion of general laws, multiple causation, accidents, statistical "resultants," and alternative possibilities in history, we see one such approach toward a more sophisticated analysis of the individual-general problem. But some theorists have recently become particularly attracted by another approach: the concept of "ideal type." Since the central concern that pervades virtually all that is written in this field by Soviet theorists is the need to reconcile the historians' focus on concrete events with the ideological and methodological interest in generalization, the appeal of this approach is understandable. With reference to Goethe, Rickert, and, most of all, Weber, Gulyga devoted an entire article to this theme. It is important to add that it was the lead article in *Voprosy istorii,* a place usually reserved for authoritative party editorials. Weber's essential and valuable contribution, according to Gulyga, was his distinction between the ideal type or form of some phenomenon and its actual existence. Since the ideal type was essentially a "protoimage" permitting wide deviations from it in reality, Gulyga urged historians to remember that the ideal type was only a useful guide, an epistemologically valuable construction and not a picture of actual patterns and processes in historical reality. (Gurevich, it may be recalled, advanced the same warning.) Marx's logical analysis of capitalism, for instance, "while for sociology a concrete picture of the structure and functions of this society, is for the historian only an abstract point of departure for the reconstruction of the concrete origins of capitalist relations in one or another country, in one or another epoch."[51]

Here, it would seem, we might have a meeting point between at least some Soviet theorists and one school of thought among our own historians. Ironically, what might stand in the way of such cooperation, assuming this optimism warranted, is the reorientation of those Soviet historians who write about concepts like "ideal type" away from scientific models of knowledge toward aesthetic.

As in the case of other themes discussed in this study, Gulyga expressed this reorientation with particular clarity. History, he wrote, represents "a special kind of synthesis between the theoretical and the artistic apprehension of the world. It is dualistic by nature. There coexist here the abstract and the sensitively concrete, the conceptual and the visual picture of the past." In its characteristic use of "ideation in the form of imagery and emo-

nost v Istoricheskom Razvitii" [Negation and Continuity in Historical Development], *Voprosy filosofii,* XV [No. 3, 1961], 147–48, 151.)

[51] Gulyga, "Poniatie i Obraz," 5, 7–8.

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tions" he saw one more way in which history differed from "the majority of the sciences," and he went on to attribute this difference to the special subject matter of history, the "unique lives of individuals, their intentions and achievements."[52]

S. O. Schmidt had some still more intriguing thoughts along these lines. Because of the vast accumulation of facts, he said, it was becoming increasingly necessary to "crystallize" in our minds some stable historical types, and he advised historians to look to creative literature for help in this. In addition, he noted that historical types, "freed from the narrow framework of specific time and place, and turned into something like timeless symbols, have an effect similar to that of literary-artistic images." Examples from history, he went on, provide people with types by which they classify real life experiences in the same way that literary characterizations often provide the historian with types around which he crystallizes his historical data. What the historian and writer have most in common, however, is their desire "to convince the reader of the authenticity of their characterizations."[53]

In Cherepnin's article on Gogol, we have already seen a full treatment of this theme, associating artistic and historical creativity. Only by following such methods as Gogol adopted in creating concrete, living individuality can the historian fulfill his proper task:

> The task of the historian-artist, according to N. V. Gogol, was to draw from his multicolored palette, and to make use of, the most suitable colors for depicting one or another national image on the historical canvas. One should not "accumulate a great number of features, but only those that would reveal much, the most original characteristics, the most distinctive, those possessed only by the people described." To reproduce past phenomena, N. V. Gogol considered necessary a fusion of "historical" truth and artistic, "poetic" truth. The study of past facts and the penetration into the depths of the past with the artist's eye—here were the two sides of the creative process, the two paths to historical knowledge.[54]

But the next question immediately arises: how is the historian to ap-

[52] *Id.*, "O Kharaktere," 36–38, and "The Subject Matter of Historical Scholarship," tr. from *Voprosy istorii* (No. 4, 1964), in *Soviet Studies in History*, III (No. 4, 1965), 54. As an example of such artistic history, Gulyga referred to the works of the great prerevolutionary "bourgeois" historian, Vasily Kliuchevsky. (*Id.*, "O Kharaktere," 38.) In his most recent article on the subject, Gulyga goes on at some length illustrating how "tragedy" and other literary categories are applicable to historical interpretation, and why "universal history is a superb poetess." He even draws some support from H. Stuart Hughes, *History as Art and as Science* (New York, 1964). (Gulyga, "Poniatie i Obraz," 11–14.)

[53] *Istoriia i sotsiologiia*, 294–95. Another member of the Academy of Science's Institute of History attending the 1964 conference supported this view of history by reminding the conference "that 'history' is a translation from the Greek word for 'story.'" (*Ibid.*, 320.)

[54] Cherepnin, "Vzgliadi Gogolia," 83. And from whom did Gogol in turn learn "the art of re-creating the historical past"? From the great works of world literature beginning with Homer, we find from a letter from Gogol to the poet A. N. Zhukovsky quoted by Cherepnin. (*Ibid.*, 79.)

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prehend the "typical"? What is there to replace the, at least allegedly, objective analysis, the dispassionate rationalism that the historian could claim as his guide when he looked to natural science for his method and chose the general as his subject? There are hints of the kind of answers that lay ahead for Soviet historians and philosophers who pursue this line of thought. It is no easy task to "feel about for" [*nashchupat*] the regularities in the complexity of individual events, Academician P. N. Fedoseev said at the 1964 conference. He then went on to quote V. G. Belinsky's description of the proper historical method:

> The difficulty in the prerequisites for a good historian consists in the necessity of joining a rigorous study of historical facts and materials, a critical, cold, dispassionate analysis, with poetic inspiration and a creative capacity to combine events, forming from them a living picture, in which all the principles of perspective and chiaroscuro are observed.[55]

In all this we have left far behind the traditional Marxist picture of both natural and social "science" and have entered the realm of aesthetics. Gulyga does not balk even here:

> Speaking of the particularities of historical science, one must stress the special role played in it by imaginative thought. The questions of imaginative thought, the aesthetic apprehension of reality in the work of the historian is a theme for thought and investigation. Categories of aesthetics belong to reality and consequently to history. They are concerned not only with art, but with the knowledge of reality in general, with the knowledge of the historical process.[56]

In a later article, Gulyga nicely merged together the various approaches with which he has been closely associated. The "typical" in history, the image that permits a fusion between the specific and the general (which is, in turn, the historians' main concern), is identified by him as an "aesthetic category," as a means for expressing the "essence" of a phenomenon "in its most complete and clearest form." The processes of apprehending the "typical," of "finding material and giving it meaning," he refers to as an "intuitive act."[57] Thus, from an admonition to "respect the facts," through an appeal for a "phenomenology of the spirit," we arrive at an appreciation of the need for "an aesthetics of history."[58] Again, one can reasonably ask, is this what Ponomarev had in mind?

[55] "O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh," 10–11. Much the same terms are used by Cherepnin in describing the faculties employed by Gogol, who "apprehended the past not simply through the eyes of a historian, but through the inspired sensitivity of the artist." (Cherepnin, "Vzgliadi Gogolia," 81.)

[56] "O Metodologicheskikh Voprosakh," 37.

[57] Gulyga, "Poniatie i Obraz," 13–14.

[58] *Id.*, "O Kharaktere," 38. Were Soviet historians to heed these promptings from the "methodologists," there would open to them a wide range of immensely fruitful sources of

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How much of this is new and how much old? Does current Soviet historical theory deserve a place in the "thaw," or does it continue to fulfill the familiar political and ideological functions, those so clearly laid down in Ponomarev's speech? Do the apparently novel themes indicate a serious reorientation on the part of some Soviet historians and philosophers, or do they merely indicate efforts to provide a cloak of sophistication for official doctrines and thereby more subtly and effectively to satisfy party directives.

Certainly caution is the first principle to be followed when interpreting seemingly novel and hopeful trends in Soviet thought, and throughout this article I have suggested arguments favoring the cloak of sophistication theory. But the second principle is to be aware that such caution may be unsound as well as deeply unjust to Soviet scholars, trying courageously, perhaps, to inch their way out of still vastly powerful ideological controls. One can, of course, find all manner of tediously orthodox statements in even the most revisionist of Soviet publications, but this has always been a form of political insurance, and, moreover, none of the already numerous changes in Soviet theory and practice have ever lacked supporting quotations from the classics. The orthodox comments are also at times so flagrantly inconsistent, either logically or in style and quality of thought, with the rest of the publication (as they are not in such pronouncements as Ponomarev's) that it is hard to take them seriously. Finally, it is less weighty an argument than it might seem to note that some of the liberal statements are expressed by highly placed and long-familiar party functionaries in the historical profession whose major achievements lie well within the Stalin era. For one thing, there is something encouraging in the fact that the liberal bandwagon is considered the profitable one to jump on. In any case, anyone sensitive to the endless combinations of personal motivation and rationalization as well as to the character and intensity of Stalinist oppression would hesitate to pass judgment here or hurl abusive epithets.[59]

knowledge and insight so long blocked by dogmatic conservatism and obscurantism. From the manner of his presentation, there can be little doubt that Gurevich thoroughly approves of the way Huizinga and Febvre made use of "works of art and literature for discovering, through analysis of a society's aesthetic values, a people's psychology, their forms of perceiving life and nature, and their normative systems." "In the works of creative writers, poets, intellectuals, theologians, historians, and scientists of the later Middle Ages," Gurevich continued, "both Febvre and Huizinga are concerned not only, and perhaps not so much, with what people intentionally express, as with what they express unconsciously, without intent." (Gurevich, "Nekotorye Aspekty," 60–61, 63, 66.)

[59] After all, it is Ilya Ehrenburg who gave the name to the "thaw" and who by his public statements, fascinating memoirs, and personal interventions has done as much as anyone to keep it going. And speaking of literature, who would have expected that Stalin's "engineers of the soul" would be carrying on as they have been over the last thirteen years? For brief biographical sketches of the more prominent historians and philosophers mentioned in this

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My own bent, therefore, is toward a qualified optimism. All potential or actual service to the party notwithstanding, both the tone and the quality of the current discussion lead me to take much of it at face value. But besides the impression made by the publications on historical theory themselves, I am encouraged in this judgment by parallels between them and current developments elsewhere in Soviet life and thought. The exigencies of national defense and economic growth have forced the liberation of the natural sciences from the control of dogma and also a significant and increasingly broader tolerance for experimentation in economic theory and practice. It is hardly likely that professionals in other fields, including history, who have equivalent training, background, and aspirations are unaffected by the return to reason in these favored disciplines.

Still more indicative of the tendency involved, however, since it is less clearly attached to practical gains, is the veritable obsession with "truth" that pervades the "thaw" literature. That the trends toward professional integrity in history are part of this massive reaction against Stalinist mendacity seems to me very likely. I have referred already to a related pressure in this same direction: change in the reading public. To inculcate desired attitudes and ideas in the minds of Soviet readers, the books have to be read, but to get them read, the style and content of the message must be radically altered to suit far more critical, self-confident, and sensitive readers.

There is, finally, another way, less obvious but more basic, in which the achievements in Soviet science and economy may be contributing to the present state of Soviet historiography. Historical and economic determinism, with all their derivative categories, patterns, and laws, provided together an encouraging crutch for powerless Russian Marxists in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Having nothing, they looked to inevitable historical and social processes to guarantee them all. Soviet society is now more than strong enough to throw the crutch away. Present achievements are providing realistic grounds for the hope and expectation that the first Russian Marxists could derive only from Marxist historical mythology.[60] With tangi-

article, see, among other such works, *Who's Who in the USSR* published by the Munich Institute for the Study of the USSR, a second edition of which was published in New York and London in 1966. Time will tell whether the exile of Andrei Sinyavsky (Tertz) and Yuli Daniel (Arzhak) will seriously impede the further evolution of the "thaw" in Soviet literature. It has been argued that their defense and the absence of "confessions" represent an improvement over Stalin's "trials" of such "enemies of the people." Even more encouraging was the display of sympathy, both public and tacit, that the writers received both from their own countrymen and from Communist party members abroad.

[60] In the light of all that has been said here about voluntarism and subjectivism in Soviet historical theory, it might be more accurate to say that the myths have changed, that the symbol of Prometheus representing the transformation of nature, society, and man himself

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ble scientific and economic success winning allegiance for the regime from those who matter politically, the authorities may feel secure enough to lessen their dependence on Marxist eschatology. Consequently, if this is correct, the historian can begin to withdraw from service on the "historical front" and to return, at least partly, to his traditional pursuit of historical truth.

The hesitant re-emergence of sociology as an acceptable field may be the other side of the coin of history's return to its customary enterprise. Boundaries seem in the process of being drawn: historians study specific events; sociologists focus on general trends, patterns, and laws. As for historical materialism, it is quite possible that under the combined blows of rational history and rational sociology its fate will be the same as that suffered by its mate—dialectical materialism—under the blows of demythologized science. Perhaps the coffin for historical materialism is already being prepared under the title "scientific Communism," to which the familiar propaganda slogans and clichés are now being consigned, leaving history and sociology somewhat freer to engage in, or at least to search for, their proper concerns.

through endless conquests of conscious human will and reason has replaced the myth of that weird, impersonal, animistic material force that somehow guaranteed the realization of the good society. The current development of Soviet historical theory may, therefore, be viewed as one more phase, following quite consistently the Lenin and Stalin phases, in a process that is bringing Soviet theory in line with Soviet practice, which from the beginning so dramatically demonstrated the determining power of ideas and ideals in history.

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Protestantism and the American Labor Movement: The Christian Spirit in the Gilded Age

HERBERT G. GUTMAN*

LABOR historians and others have puzzled over precisely how and why American workers, especially those critical of the new industrial order, reacted to the profound changes in the nation's social and economic structure and in their own particular status between 1850 and 1900, but in seeking explanations they have studied almost exclusively working-class behavior and trade-union organization and have neatly catalogued the interminable wranglings between "business" unionists, "utopian" dreamers, and "socialist" radicals. Although their works have uncovered much of value, the "mind" of the worker—the modes of thought and perception through which he confronted the industrialization process and which helped shape his behavior—has received scant and inadequate attention. American workers, immigrant and native-born alike, brought more than their "labor" to the factory and did not view their changing circumstances in simple "economic" terms. So narrow an emphasis ignores the complexity of their lives and experiences and, in general, distorts human behavior. "Events, facts, data, happenings," J. L. Talmon reminds us, "assume their significance from the way in which they are experienced."[1] These pages examine one of several important but overlooked influences on the disaffected worker's thought: the way certain strands of pre-Gilded Age Protestantism affected him in a time of rapid industrialization and radical social change.

Before 1850 relatively few Americans had direct contact with an in-

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[1] J. K. Talmon, "The Age of Revolution," *Encounter*, XXI (Sept. 1963), 14. See also Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (New York, 1965), ix–x. Urging the study of popular ideology in order to understand more fully political thought and behavior, Hofstadter writes: "The political contest itself is deeply affected by the way in which it is perceived." "This does not mean," he hastens to warn, "that the material interests of politics can be psychologized away or reduced to episodes in intellectual history." A similar admonition is essential in studying labor thought.

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dustrial *society,* but after that date rapid industrialization altered the social structure, and the process left few untouched. Depending upon circumstance, these social changes meant more or less opportunity for workers, but nearly all felt greater dependence and profoundly different patterns of work discipline. In addition, urbanization and immigration changed the structure and composition of the working class and affected its style of life. In ways that have not yet been adequately explored, class and status relationships took on new meaning, too.[2] And a new ideology that sanctioned industrial laissez faire emerged because, as Ralph Gabriel has perceptively written, "the mores of a simpler agricultural and commercial era did not fit the conditions of an age characterized by the swift accumulation of industrial power."[3] The era found much "truth" in the frequent judgments of the Chicago *Times* that "the inexorable law of God" meant that "the man who lays up not for the morrow perishes on the morrow," that "political economy" was "in reality the autocrat of the age" and occupied "the position once held by the Caesars and the Popes," and that cheapened production counted for so much that men did not inquire "when looking at a piece of lace whether the woman who wove it is a saint or a courtesan."[4]

Legal and political theory, academic economics, amoral "social science," and institutional Protestantism emphasized that in industrial America interference with the entrepreneur's freedom violated "divine" or "scientific" laws, and historians have given much attention to the many ways Gilded Age social thought bolstered the virtues of "Acquisitive Man."[5] Two seemingly contradictory ideas especially sanctioned industrial laissez faire. Related to the decline of traditional religious sanctions and the growing importance of secular institutions and values, the first insisted that no connection existed between economic behavior and moral conduct. Gilded Age business practices, Edward C. Kirkland has argued, cannot be understood without realizing that for most entrepreneurs "economic activity stood apart from the sphere of moral and personal considerations."[6] Much con-

[2] Evidence on differing contemporary estimates of the status of industrialists and workers in large cities and small industrial towns is found in H. G. Gutman, "The Worker's Search for Power: Labor in the Gilded Age," in *The Gilded Age: A Reappraisal,* ed. H. Wayne Morgan (New York, 1963), 38–68.

[3] Ralph Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1956), 154.

[4] Chicago *Times,* Aug. 24, 1874, Aug. 26, 1876.

[5] An able summary of the defense of laissez faire in the Gilded Age is found in Sidney Fine, *Laissez Faire and the General-Welfare State: A Study of Conflict in American Thought, 1865–1901* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1956), 3–166. On the process of legitimizing newly achieved power, see Max Weber, *Essays in Sociology,* tr. and ed. H. W. Gerth and C. W. Mills (New York, 1946), 271.

[6] Edward C. Kirkland, "Divide and Rule," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XLIII (June 1956), 3–17.

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temporary evidence supports this view.[7] The second concept, identified with traditional Calvinist doctrine, reinforced the business ethic by equating poverty and failure with sin.[8] Evidence gathered primarily from national denominational weekly and monthly periodicals, together with a Gilded Age premillennial evangelism (typified by the popular Dwight Moody) that insisted that "until Christ returned none of the basic problems of the world could be solved," convinces its historians that the Protestant denominations and their leaders mostly "lost their sense of estrangement from society" and "began . . . to bless and defend it in a jargon strangely compounded out of the language of traditional Christian theology, commonsense philosophy, and *laissez-faire* economics."[9] Henry May, Aaron Abell, and Charles Hopkins have shown that a small but quite influential group of Protestant clergymen and lay thinkers broke free from institutional Protestantism's social conservatism and traveled a difficult route in pioneering the social gospel,[10] but in the main Gilded Age Protestantism is viewed

[7] Economist Arthur Perry explicitly said that "the grounds of economy and morals are independent and incommensurable," while the president of the American Exchange Bank found the "laws" of economics separate from but "as sacred and obligatory as . . . those of the Decalogue." Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad President C. E. Perkins advised an associate: "If I were able, I would found a school of political economy in order to harden men's hearts." Another time Perkins explained: "The question of political economy is not, What is noble? What is good? What is generous? What are the teachings of the Gospel?—But what, if anything, is it expedient to do about [the] production, distribution and consumption of property or wealth?" Like many other men of new wealth and power, this railroad leader worried about those who denounced "the economic law of Adam Smith . . . as too cruel and heartless for a Christian People." (Quoted in Fine, *Laissez Faire,* 54, 56, 103; Kirkland, "Divide and Rule"; and Thomas Cochran, *Railroad Leaders, 1845–1890: The Business Mind in Action* [Cambridge, Mass., 1953], 436–37.)

[8] This view is identified most frequently with Henry Ward Beecher and Russell Conwell. "The general truth will stand," Beecher argued, "that no man in this land suffers from poverty unless it be more than his fault—unless it be his *sin*." (Quoted in Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* [New York, 1949], 69.) Conwell made the same point another way: "The number of poor to be sympathized with is very small. . . . To sympathize with a man whom God has punished for his sins, thus to help him when God will still continue a just punishment, is to do wrong, no doubt about it." (Quoted in Marquis Childs and Douglas Cater, *Ethics in a Business Society* [New York, 1954], 137.) A variant of this theme urged passivity upon complaining workers as when the Methodist *Christian Advocate* lectured readers: "John the Baptist set a good example . . . when he advised the Roman soldiers, 'Be content with your wages'. . . ." (Quoted in William G. McLoughlin, Jr., *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* [New York, 1959], 267–68.)

[9] Sidney E. Mead, "American Protestantism since the Civil War," *Journal of Religion,* XXXVI (Jan. 1956), 1–15. See also Winthrop Hudson, *American Protestantism* (Chicago, 1961), 136–40. Hudson also relates these developments to the new theology, "the doctrine of Incarnation, interpreted as divine immanence, which sanctified the 'natural' man and invested the culture itself with intrinsic redemptive tendencies." The new theology therefore surrendered "any independent basis of judgment." Excellent analysis of the post-Civil War evangelism typified by Dwight Moody is found in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism,* 166–281, and Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact upon Religion in America* (Boston, 1958), 160–219.

[10] May, *Protestant Churches, passim,* but esp. 91–111, 163–203; A. I. Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865–1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), *passim;* and C. H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865–1915* (New Haven, Conn., 1940), *passim.*

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as a conformist, "culture-bound" Christianity that warmly embraced the rising industrialist, drained the aspiring rich of conscience, and confused or pacified the poor. The writings of an articulate minority suggest to historians that the wealthy busied themselves memorizing Herbert Spencer's aphorisms and purchasing expensive church pews, that the middle classes chased wealth and cheered Horatio Alger, and that the wage earners, busy laboring, found little time to ponder existential questions and felt separated from institutional Protestantism. Workers wandered from the fold, and the churches lost touch with the laboring classes.

Accurate in describing certain themes characteristic of Gilded Age social and religious thought, this view nevertheless tells little about the relationship between Protestantism and the working class because the many functions of religion, particularly its effects on the lower classes, cannot be learned by analyzing what leading clergymen said and what social philosophy religious journals professed. Unless one first studies the varieties of working-class community life, the social and economic structure that gave them shape, their voluntary associations (including churches, benevolent and fraternal societies, and trade-unions), their connections to the larger community, and their particular and shared values, one is likely to be confused about the relationship between the worker, institutional religion, and religious beliefs and sentiments.[11] It is suggested, for example, that a close tie between laissez faire and Gilded Age Protestantism developed partly because the post-Civil War "burst of technological and industrial expansion . . . created unbridled cheerfulness, confidence, and complacency among the American people" and because "the observational order coincided in a high degree with the conceptual order and . . . such coincidence defines social stability."[12] Such was probably the case for successful entrepreneurs and many lesser folk who benefited from rapid industrialization and the era's massive material gains, but the same cannot be inferred for those whose traditional skills became obsolete, who felt economic dependence for the first time, who knew recurrent seasonal and cyclical unemployment, and who suffered severe family and social disorganization in moving from farm and town to city and in adapting to industrial and urban priorities and work discipline patterns different from traditional norms. Day-to-day experiences for many such persons ("the observational order") did not entirely coin-

[11] See the penetrating and original study of the role of voluntary associations and community institutions among Irish immigrant workers and their children in Newburyport, Massachusetts, between 1850 and 1880 in Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 166–91.

[12] Hudson, *American Protestantism;* Mead, "American Protestantism."

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cide with the religious and secular ideas and values ("the conceptual order") they carried with them from the immediate past. Some withdrew from the tensions stirred by such conflict, and others changed their beliefs. Many found in Gilded Age Protestantism reason to cheer material progress or comfort in premillennial evangelism. But some, especially trade-unionists and labor reformers and radicals, discovered that preindustrial ideology heightened rather than obliterated the moral dilemmas of a new social order and that the Protestantism of an earlier America offered a religious sanction for *their* discontent with industrial laissez faire and "Acquisitive Man." A preindustrial social order had nurtured particular religious beliefs that did not disappear with the coming of industrialism and did not easily or quickly conform to the Protestantism of a Henry Ward Beecher or a Dwight Moody and the secular optimism of an Andrew Carnegie or a Horatio Alger. The material conditions of life changed radically for these workers after 1850, but not the world of their mind and spirit. They saw the nation transformed, but were not themselves abruptly alienated from the past. Older traditions and modes of thought (religious and secular in origin) did not succumb easily to the imperatives of a disorganized industrial society, but, depending upon particular circumstances, often clung tenaciously and even deepened tensions generally characteristic of an early industrializing society.

The recent perspective emphasized by British historians of early industrial England helps clarify the particular relationship between Protestantism and Gilded Age labor reform. "In order to understand how people respond to industrial change," Asa Briggs has written, "it is necessary to examine fully what kind of people they were at the beginning of the process, to take account of continuities and traditions as well as new ways of thinking and feeling."[13] Edward P. Thompson has gathered and organized a mass of data in *The Making of the English Working Class* to argue persuasively that the English working class was not "the spontaneous generation of the factory-system" and that the early social history of industrial England was more than "an external force—the 'industrial revolution'—working upon some nondescript undifferentiated raw material of humanity."[14] Applied to the United States, this general point is quite simple although its particular American characteristics demand a level of conceptualization and a method of research not yet typical of "labor history." Protestantism in its many and

[13] Asa Briggs, review of Edward P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, *Labor History*, VI (Winter 1965), 84.

[14] Edward P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963), 194 *et passim*.

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even contradictory forms but particularly the Christian perfectionism of pre-Civil War evangelical and reform movements lingered on among many discontented *post-bellum* workers.[15] It was no different in the United States than in Great Britain where labor and religious historians have documented the close relationship between Protestant Nonconformity, especially Methodism, and labor reform.[16] None of this should surprise students of social movements. "The bulk of industrial workers in all countries," Eric Hobsbawm notes, "began . . . as first generation immigrants from preindustrial society . . . and like all first-generation immigrants, they looked backwards as much as forwards." The new industrial world "had no pattern of life suited to the new age," and so men and women often "drew on the only spiritual resources at their disposal, preindustrial custom and religion."[17]

An additional point stressed in Thompson's recent work offers insight into the Gilded Age labor reformer. "Behind every form of popular direct action," Thompson notes, "some legitimising notion of right is to be found."[18] Thus Boston labor leader and editor Frank K. Foster insisted in 1888: "The dry names and dates furnish but a small part of the history of the labor movement. To understand its real meaning one must comprehend the spirit animating it."[19] Leaders and followers of social movements that challenge an established order or question the direction of a rapidly changing society (such as the United States after the Civil War) are usually "animated" by a "spirit" that sanctions and legitimizes the particular alternative they espouse. It is not enough for them merely to criticize and to offer alternatives. This is the case whether they advocate trade-unions in a society

[15] See esp. Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (New York, 1957), *passim*. Smith does not carry his important findings on the relationship between pre-Civil War evangelism, Christian perfectionism, and social reform beyond the Civil War. Clifton E. Olmstead argued that perfectionism "increased steadily in American evangelical Protestantism throughout and beyond the Civil War." It "flourished primarily in urban areas," Olmstead maintained, "where the social problems and the individual frustrations presented a peculiar challenge to those who believed that Christianity could 'work' to the betterment of mankind." (C. E. Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States* [Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1960], 352.) But Olmstead offered no concrete evidence to support this valuable insight. Although he makes little of the strain of labor Protestantism emphasized in these pages, W. G. McLoughlin offers a suggestive framework for understanding the effects of pietistic perfectionism on American social movements in his essay "Pietism and the American Character," *American Quarterly*, XVII (Summer 1965), 163–86.

[16] Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, 350–400; Eric Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* (London, 1964), 23–33; Robert F. Wearmouth, *Methodism and the Working-Class Movements of England, 1800–1850* (London, 1937), *passim*.

[17] E. J. Hobsbawm, *Social Bandits and Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Glencoe, Ill., 1959), 108, 130.

[18] Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, 68.

[19] *Labor Leader* (Boston), Sept. 15, 1888.

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hostile to collective activity or urge even more thorough and fundamental social reorganization. They must *feel* that what they propose is justified by values that transcend the particular social order they criticize. For this reason, they often crudely reinterpret the historical past. They either project "new" values or, as is more frequently the case, reinterpret vague and broadly shared national values to sanction their behavior. Then, they can argue that their critique of the dominant order and its ideology is "consistent with very basic values."[20] Such was the case with the generation of trade-unionists, labor reformers, and labor radicals who felt the transition from a preindustrial to an industrial society and who bore the social, economic, and psychological brunt of the American industrializing process after 1860.

Two broadly shared preindustrial national traditions especially offered the discontented nineteenth-century American worker a transcendent and sanctioning "notion of right." The first—the republican political tradition—is beyond the scope of these pages. The second was traditional American Protestantism. Frank Foster could explain in 1887: "John on Patmos, Jack Cade at the head of the populace, . . . Krapotine indicting Russian imperialism, the rising wrath of American Democracy—these are all of kinship." Commenting on the American labor movement, Foster went on:

> The "cross of the new crusade" is the cross of an old crusade, old as the passions of the human heart. An idea may take different forms of expression and its ethical purport may be the same, and in whatever direction men may strive for this ambiguous thing we call social reform, if they mean anything at all, they but echo—be they Jew or Gentile, Greek or Christian, Deist or Atheist, Knight of Labor or Socialist—that carol of welcome which was sung to greet the coming of the Carpenter's Son in the centuries long gone by, "peace on earth, good will to men."

"Looking afar off, over the broad ocean of time and space," the Boston editor concluded, "we have faith, like St. Simon at death's door, [we] may exclaim, 'The future is ours.' "[21] Similarly, the *Union Pacific Employees Magazine* comforted fearful trade-unionists by reminding them that after the Crucifixion "the rabble rejoiced." "Time," this journal insisted in explaining the difficulties encountered by trade-union advocates, "corrects errors. . . . The minority continue to urge their views until they become the majority or the fallacy of them be proven. Advance is made only thus. Time must be had to prepare the way for every step."[22] In another connection, the American Railway Union's *Railway Times* called "sublime idiocy

[20] Alvin and Helen Gouldner, *Modern Sociology* (New York, 1963), 634–36.
[21] *Labor Leader*, Aug. 27, 1888.
[22] *Union Pacific Employees Magazine*, n.d., reprinted in the *Journal of the Knights of*

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. . . the idea that workingmen of the present, or of any other century, were the first to call attention to the rapacity of the rich." Instead, "The arraignment of the rich by God Himself and His Son, the Redeemer, set the pace for all coming generations of men who would be free from the crushing domination of wealth." Labor's complaints had "the unequivocal indorsement of the Holy Writ."[23] Here, then, was a religious faith that justified labor organization and agitation, encouraged workers to challenge industrial power, and compelled criticism of "natural" economic laws, the crude optimism of social Darwinism, and even the conformist Christianity of most respectable clergymen.

Protestantism affected the American working class in many ways, and a brief article cannot encompass its varied manifestations. But it is possible to indicate some of them.

A subordinate but distinct theme drew from pessimistic premillennialism the apocalyptic tradition that prophesied doom and imminent catastrophe before "redemption." In a period of rapid, unpredictable social and economic change, change itself meant decay and destruction to some. For them, the Christian prophetic tradition did not buoy up the spirit and command reform, but stimulated withdrawal. A Massachusetts ship joiner predicted destructive world-wide war as the result of "the sin of the people, 'covetousness.' "[24] A regular *Coast Seaman's Journal* columnist more than once made the same point.[25] Readers of the Denver *Labor Enquirer* learned from several sermons by Mrs. P. C. Munger of "The World's Final Crisis." She urged violence to speed the end of an evil social order and praised dynamite as a "blessing" from God:

> Socially, the ruling world is a dead leper. In the name of God and man bury it deep in the earth it has corrupted. . . . Dynamite in its line is the last scientific fruit of the Holy Ghost. . . . It is in every way worthy of the giver—God. . . . I thank, I praise, I bless God for dynamite. It is the blast of Gabriel's trumpet. . . . It does the deeds of God. . . . Its fruits are peace, love, joy, goodness, gentleness, meekness, and truth displayed in decent life and government. Is not this boon of heaven worth a blow; worth a blast on the trumpet of doom? . . . Dynamite is a weapon to win; a weapon to conquer, a weapon to kill. It is your only one. God Himself allows you no other; use it or tamely submit and sign your death warrant.[26]

Such violent and apparent psychotic anguish, however, was not typical of

Labor (Philadelphia), July 16, 1891. The Crucifixion was but one example this journal cited. It also pointed to the mobbing of William Lloyd Garrison, the hanging of John Brown, and the jailing of Voltaire.

[23] *Railway Times* (Chicago), June 15, 1896.

[24] *Labor Standard* (Boston), Feb. 22, 1879.

[25] *Coast Seaman's Journal* (San Francisco), Nov. 28, 1888, Jan. 30, 1889.

[26] *Labor Enquirer* (Denver), Apr.–May 1883.

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even the most extreme premillenarian visionaries. More characteristic was the complaint of an Indiana coal miner's wife who believed that "according to history" a "visitation" took place every two thousand years and quietly complained, "I have heard my mother talk about her girlhood days and how good and religious people were." The world had changed for the worse. "It is no wonder," she feared, "that God sends His voice in thunder through the air as wicked as this world stands to-day. . . . We are living in a land where shadows are continually falling in our pathway."[27] The extraordinary psychological strains of early industrialism thus found expression in the rejection of the secular order and the acceptance of a Protestantism of doom, despair, and destruction.[28]

More widespread than these premillennial prophecies was a postmillennial Christian justification of trade-unionism and even more radical social reform. Conservative trade-unionists and radical anarchists and socialists (except for the zealous followers of Daniel De Leon) often appealed to Christianity for its sanction. A pre-Civil War utopian and afterward a Knight of Labor and builder of cooperatives, John Orvis claimed "the labor question" was "here in the Providence of Almighty God" and meant "the deliverance, exaltation, and ennobling of labor and the laboring classes to the first rank."[29] Conservative craft unionist and president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, John Jarrett told a gathering of clergymen that "the climax of the mission of the Savior, beyond a question, . . . is that He came here so that the gospel would be preached to the poor."[30] After being sentenced to death in the aftermath of the Haymarket affair, German immigrant anarchist August Spies linked his beliefs to Thomas Münzer. "He," Spies said of Münzer, "interpreted the Gospel, saying that it did not merely promise blessings in heaven, but that it also commanded equality and brotherhood among men on earth." Spies insisted that "the spirit of the Reformation was the 'eternal spirit of the chainless mind,' and nothing could stay its progress."[31] This sentiment—radical criticism and labor discontent sanctioned by an appeal to Christian tradition—did not diminish by the end of the nineteenth century and remained as common in the 1890's as in the 1860's. No apparent connection existed between a particular brand of labor reform and Christianity; all shared in it.

[27] *United Mine Workers' Journal* (Columbus, Ohio), Mar. 8, 1900.
[28] Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men*, 376.
[29] *American Workman* (Boston), June–July 1869.
[30] *Labor: Its Rights and Wrongs* (Washington, D.C., 1886), 252–61.
[31] *The Accused, the Accusers. The Famous Speeches of the Eight Chicago Anarchists in Court . . . On October 7th, 8th and 9th, 1886* (Chicago, 1886), 5–6.

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Prophetic Protestantism offered labor leaders and their followers a transhistoric framework to challenge the new industrialism and a common set of moral imperatives to measure their rage against and to order their dissatisfactions. The intensity of religious commitment varied among individuals: it depended upon particular life experiences, and its sources drew from the many strands that made up the web of Protestant tradition. But the influence of the Christian perfectionism and postmillennialism identified with Charles G. Finney and other pre-Civil War and preindustrial evangelical revivalists seems predominant.[32] Even this tradition, which emphasized God's redemptive love and benevolence and insisted that "progress, in all its forms, was divinely directed toward the perfection of the world," took many forms.[33] A few examples suffice. In the 1860's, William Sylvis, that decade's most prominent trade-unionist, pitted the God of Christian perfectionism against Malthusian doctrine and asked: "Is it not reasonable, is it not Christian, to suppose that the all-wise Being who placed us here, and whose attributes are benevolence and love, could find other means of controlling population than by war, famine, pestilence, and crime in all its forms?"[34] More than thirty years later, George E. Ward hailed the coming of the American Railway Union by arguing that "God is infinite and eternal justice" so that "he who strives to promote and establish justice upon earth is a co-worker with God." It followed that union men were "the rapidly-evolving God-men—the *genus homo* vivified by the eternal truths and energizing principles of the gospel of Christ."[35] Another perfectionist strain, more "emotional," told of man's "sin," but was nevertheless distinctly postmillennial. Celebrating Thanksgiving, a midwestern worker assured the Chicago *Knights of Labor:*

God has given the earth to the children of men; that a few have stolen it all and

[32] McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism,* 65–165; Smith, *Revivalism, passim;* Olmstead, *History of Religion,* 347–62. See also the subtle but significant distinctions between the prophetic and the apocalyptic impulses stressed by Martin Buber in his essay "Prophecy, Apocalyptic, and Historical Hour" (1954), reprinted in *id., Pointing the Way: Collected Essays* (New York, 1957), 192–207. Although authoritative conclusions cannot yet be drawn, it appears that the prophetic rather than the apocalyptic tradition characterized the dominant religious sentiment of dissident Gilded Age workers.

[33] McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism,* 167. There is little direct reference to Finney in post-Civil War labor thought. An exception is found in the *Iron Molder's Journal* (Cincinnati), Oct. 1876, which reported the following story about Finney: "He was passing an iron foundry when the works were in full blast and heard a workman swearing terribly. 'Young man,' said the revivalist, addressing the swearer, 'how hot do you suppose hell is?' The workman recognized the questioner, and placed his arms akimbo, and looking him squarely in the face, said, 'Well, Mr. Finney, I suppose it's so hot there that if somebody brought you a spoonful of melted iron, you'd swear 't was ice cream.' Mr. Finney had nothing more to say."

[34] James Sylvis, *Life, Speeches, Labors and Essays of William H. Sylvis* (Philadelphia, 1872), 152–65.

[35] *Railway Times,* Jan. 15, 1894.

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disinherited the masses, is no fault of God's, but the wickedness of man. . . . We could not know the wickedness of man, could we not see the goodness of God. . . . It is perfectly safe to pray for His kingdom to come, and in that prayer you anathematize the present system as bitterly as words could do it. . . .[36]

"Pumpkin Smasher," a Newcomb, Tennessee, coal miner, typified extreme labor evangelism:

Labor has made this country into a bed of roses so that a few may lie therein, and bask in the beautiful God-given sunshine, while the laborer or the creator of all this splendor is roaming in rags all tattered and torn. . . . Cheer up, my brothers, the longest night comes to an end. It may end by an honest use of the ballot box, but as that can never be until the great and glorious millennium with all its attendant beauties set in, brothers we need not look for deliverance through the medium of the ballot box. But it will come just the same. It may come like it did to the Israelitish serfs from down yonder in Egypt, or it may come like it did in France in those long days of rebellion. Or, my brothers, it may come as it did to the colored slaves of the South by sword and fire. Let us be ready to eat the Paschal lamb at any moment the trumpet sounds.[37]

Even the more "conservative" *American Federationist* found room for labor evangelism. A contributor to the American Federation of Labor's official journal asked for nothing less than "A living Christ moving, living, breathing and dominant in the hearts of a people, not a dead Christianity, dreaming of a dead Christ, but live Christians as live Christs, scattering the table of the money changers in the temples, . . . going down in the poverty-stricken alleys of the robbed industrial slaves, and raising up its victims." This Christianity he called *"the real article!"*[38]

Not surprisingly, the labor evangels found the most essential characteristics of the rapidly developing new industrial social order un-Christian and violative of God's will. As early as the 1860's "Uncle Sam" told readers of *Fincher's Trades Review* that "the present system of labor . . . is a system begotten by the *evil one, hell-born*" and that it "warred against the heaven-born creation, the system instituted by *God* for the good of man."[39] And the Boston *Daily Evening Voice* justified a living wage and condemned the maldistribution of wealth by appealing to God: "It is because He has made of one blood all men—because all are brethren—that the differences instituted by men—the chief of which is the money difference—are so morally disastrous as they are. . . . The elevation of a false god dethrones the real one."[40]

[36] *Knights of Labor* (Chicago), Nov. 20, 1886.
[37] *United Mine Workers' Journal*, Mar. 29, 1894.
[38] Louis Nash, "Is This A Christian Civilization?" *American Federationist*, I (Jan. 1895), 252.
[39] *Fincher's Trades Review* (Philadelphia), Feb. 2, 1864.
[40] Boston *Daily Evening Voice*, Sept. 2, 1865.

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Self-protection and trade-unionism especially enjoyed the blessings of God. A Louisville cigar maker argued: "The toilers are coming out of darkness into light and . . . have dared to organize, to come in closer touch with our Lord's will and the teachings of Jesus Christ." He prophesied: "The time is not far distant when the wage earners shall stand on the rock of independence and sing, 'Nearer, My God, to Thee.' We need not fire and sword, but [to] organize, unionize. . . ."[41] During the bitter bituminous coal strike of 1897 the *United Mine Workers' Journal* editorialized: "Blessed are the union men. They are the salt of the earth which keeps uncontaminated the pure principles of brotherhood in the breast of their fellow toilers, and which, if allowed to die, would make us doubt the fatherhood of God."[42] Biblical "history" served well J. A. Crawford, Illinois district president of the United Mine Workers, as he preached the divinity of unions:

> The first labor organization mentioned in history, either profane or divine, was the one founded just outside of the historic Garden of Eden, by God Himself; the charter members being Adam and Eve. . . . Noah's campaign among the Antediluvians favorably reminds us of the organizing campaigns of the United Mine Workers. . . . The third attempt at organizing labor was made by the authority of Jehovah, instituted and carried to a successful termination by "The Walking Delegates," Moses and Aaron, for the purpose of redeeming Israel from Egyptian task-masters. . . . The next labor movement of importance recorded in sacred history, begins with the beginning of the ministry of the "Nazarene," opposed to all forms of oppression of the poor and antagonistic to the operation of "Wall street" in the house of His Father, the sanctuary of worship. . . . Choose you this day whom you shall serve. If plutocracy be God, serve it; if God be God, serve Him.[43]

A *Railway Times* writer summed it up by insisting that "so-called 'labor agitators,' who are such, *not* for the love of money, but for the love of humanity, are true followers of Christ and are striving to establish upon earth the kingdom of God, for which disciples are taught to pray."[44] Labor organizers had only to push ahead. "Brother Knights," a fellow unionist advised, "allow me to say that Moses, while fleeing from bondage and endeavoring to deliver his people from the hands of the Egyptian destroyer, received the imperative command from God, to 'go forward.' The same injunction still comes to us, 'go forward.' "[45]

The historic and divine person of Jesus Christ loomed large in the rhetoric and imagery of labor leaders. He served as a model to emulate, a sym-

[41] *Cigar-Makers' Official Journal,* XIX (Jan. 1894), 3.
[42] *United Mine Workers' Journal,* Sept. 30, 1897.
[43] *Ibid.,* June 15, 1893.
[44] *Railway Times,* Jan. 15, 1894.
[45] *Journal of United Labor* (Philadelphia), Sept. 1882.

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bol to inspire. An Illinois coal miner later elected to the state assembly admiringly described trade-unionist Richard Trevellick: "While not a preacher of Jesus and Him crucified, yet he was one of His most exemplary followers. . . . My wife thought Dick Trevellick the second Jesus Christ."[46] Much was made of the argument that "the Saviour Himself" had associated "with common fishermen and carpenters."[47] A West Coast seaman reminded his brothers that "Peter and James and John, . . . three sailors, were the chosen of our Saviour."[48] *Railway Times* called Jesus "an agitator such as the world has never seen before nor since, . . . despised and finally murdered to appease the wrath of the ruling class of His time."[49] William Mahon, the international president of the motorman's union, lectured the Businessman's Bible Class of the Detroit First Congregational Church that Christ was "crucified for disturbing the national order of things . . . [by] the conservative goody good people, whose plans Jesus spoilt." The businessmen learned that the speaker belonged to "the organizations . . . fighting for the very principles laid down by Jesus Christ."[50] The *Coast Seaman's Journal* explained Christ's death:

> Christ taught that all men had souls and were therefore equal in the finality of things. For that He was put to death. But it was not for preaching the doctrine of a common equality before God that the Saviour suffered. The Powers have never objected to changing the conditions and relations of the future: it is the conditions and relations of today they object to altering. Christ was crucified because the doctrine of common equality hereafter, which He preached, led inevitably to the doctrine of common equality now. This is the essence of Christ's teaching.[51]

Christ in an industrializing America would suffer as a labor leader or even a "tramp" suffered. "Had Christ lived in Connecticut, he would have been imprisoned for asking for a cup of water," believed the Washington *Craftsman*.[52]

[46] O. T. Hicks, *Life of Richard Trevellick* (Joliet, Ill., 1898), 198–200.

[47] *Craftsman* (Washington, D. C.), May 30, 1885.

[48] *Coast Seaman's Journal,* Feb. 25, 1891. See also the editorials in the *National Labor Tribune* (Pittsburgh), Feb. 3, Mar. 7, 1877, in which trade-union organizers and labor reformers are called the "Apostles of Labor" and urged to go among the workers and talk with them as did the early Christians. The Apostles, the *Tribune* reminded readers, "were teachers who traveled without pay, and for no other reason than to spread the new gospel." "Looking back," it noted, "we may wonder how a few simple-minded men, without education, with nothing but plain, simple honesty, could make such mighty changes."

[49] *Railway Times,* Feb. 1, 1897.

[50] *The Motorman and Conductor,* V (Jan. 1899), 1–3. See also *Labor Standard* (New York), Jan. 6, 1877. The socialist *Standard* condemned the New York *Herald* for praising Christ's life among the poor and for finding in it "a theory of the conduct of life and of society." The *Standard* believed that "if any man were to follow Christ's example by going amongst the brokers and doing as he did, he would soon find himself an inmate of a Lunatic asylum or a Jail." "Who in these days," asked the *Standard,* "does unto others as he wishes to be done by?"

[51] *Coast Seaman's Journal,* Feb. 22, 1897.

[52] *Craftsman,* Dec. 19, 1885; see also W.J.M., "Christmas Greeting," *Coast Seaman's*

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If Gilded Age businessmen make sense only when it is realized that for them "economic activity stood apart from moral considerations," the opposite is true for most Gilded Age labor leaders. Protestantism helped many of them restore what Oscar Handlin calls "the sense of human solidarity infused with religious values."[53] Prominent Gilded Age trade-unionists, labor reformers, and even radicals—with the notable exception of Samuel Gompers and De Leon—shared a common faith in a just God, effused perfectionist doctrine, and warned of divine retribution against continuing injustice.[54] They often condemned the insensitivity of institutional Protestantism to the suffering brought about by rapid industrialization, but their speeches and writings also made frequent allusion to essential religious "truths" that gave meaning to their lives and that sanctioned organized opposition to the new industrialism.[55] Trade-unionists and reformers from Catholic backgrounds such as Joseph P. McDonnell, who had studied for the priesthood, and Terence V. Powderly frequently quoted the Sermon on the Mount.[56] Important trade-unionists and labor radicals reared as Protestants did the same. Sylvis found no contradiction between his sympathies for the First International and his belief that the worker's "task" was "to found the universal family—to build up the City of God" through trade-unions which Sylvis called an "association of souls" formed by "the sons of God." America's distinctiveness rested for Sylvis on "God's ordained equal-

Journal, Dec. 21, 1887. The identification of Christ with "tramps" occurred earlier, too, especially during the antitramp hysteria of the middle and late 1870's. Defending "tramps," the *Weekly Worker* reminded readers: "About the only consolation left the truly unfortunate tramp is the thought that Christ was a tramping vagabond. . . ." (*Weekly Worker* [Syracuse, N. Y.], Aug. 15, 1875.) The *National Labor Tribune* and other labor journals echoed this point in the 1870's. "Christianity," the *Tribune* insisted, "was ushered into existence by tramps. . . . Great movements come from the bottom layer of society, who [*sic*] possess the truest instincts and noblest instincts. Our tramps are but the beginning of a worn-out system." (*National Labor Tribune,* Dec. 23, 1876.)

[53] Oscar Handlin, *The Americans* (Boston, 1963), 308.

[54] An unusual example of Gompers' making a direct appeal to religion occurred in an April 1891 Pittsburgh speech after the Morewood, Pennsylvania, murder of several East European coke workers. Gompers said: "I say to the capitalists, don't turn your backs on organized labor; don't widen the chasm. . . . Even the Bible lesson of our early childhood will change and we may be compelled to say, 'Whither thou goest I cannot go. . . . Thy people were not my people; thy God is not my God.'" (*United Mine Workers' Journal,* Apr. 23, 1891.) But see more typically Gompers' 1898 attack on "the church and the ministry as the apologists and defenders of the wrong committed against the interests of the people, simply because the perpetrators are possessors of wealth . . . whose real God is the almighty dollar. . ." (quoted in Hopkins, *Rise of the Social Gospel,* 85), and other examples of his critical attitude toward organized religion in Bernard Mandel, *Samuel Gompers: A Biography* (Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1963), 9–12.

[55] A good summary of the criticism by labor reformers and radicals of institutional Protestantism and "clerical *laissez-faire*" is found in May, *Protestant Churches,* 216–23.

[56] See, e.g., Powderly's speeches in the *Journal of United Labor,* July 17, 1890, Dec. 28, 1892, and McDonnell's editorials in the Paterson *Labor Standard,* Dec. 24, 1881, May 15, 1886, and in *Bakers' Journal,* Dec. 1, 1888.

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ity of man . . . recognized in the laws and institutions of *our* country."[57] Early trained for the Baptist ministry, Knights of Labor founder Uriah Stephens called excessive hours of work "an artificial and man-made condition, not God's arrangement and order" and insisted the Knights build upon "the immutable basis of the Fatherhood of God and the logical principle of the Brotherhood of Man." Labor organizations had come "as messiahs have ever come, when the world was ready for them." The Knights brought workers together in local assemblies:

> The tabernacle—the dwelling-place of God—is among men. No longer shall men pine for justice, or perish for lack of judgment. "And He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people." "God and Humanity." How inseparably connected! God, the Universal Father; Man, the Universal Brother![58]

Trevellick found in God reason to ennoble human labor and asked: "Is He less because His mechanical hand formed the mountains? . . . No fellow toilers; He is not less because He worked; neither are you."[59] Eugene V. Debs bristled with Christian indignation at human suffering and cannot be understood outside that framework. From his prison cell after the Pullman debacle, Debs publicly celebrated Labor Day by declaring that it "would stand first in Labor's Millennium, that prophesied era when Christ shall begin in reign on the earth to continue a thousand years."[60] He compared his jailing with Daniel's treatment by the Persians.[61] Released from Woodstock jail, Debs told an admiring Chicago throng in an oration punctuated with religious images and analogies:

> Liberty is not a word of modern coinage. Liberty and slavery are primal words, like good and evil, right and wrong; they are opposites and coexistent. There has been no liberty in the world since the gift, like sunshine and rain, came down from heaven, for the maintenance of which man has not been required to fight. . . . Is it worth[while?] to reiterate that all men are created free and that slavery and bondage are in contravention of the Creator's decree and have their origin in man's depravity?

Courts, like the Supreme Court, had been "antagonizing the decrees of heaven since the day when Lucifer was cast into the bottomless pit." "God Himself had taught His lightning, thunderbolts, winds, waves, and earthquakes to strike," and men, too, would strike, "with bullets or ballots," until they walked "the earth free men." "Angels" had "transplanted" "sympathy," one of the "perennial flowers of the Celestial City" and the main-

[57] Sylvis, *Life . . . of William H. Sylvis*, 96–117, 443–46.
[58] Terence V. Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor* (Columbus, Ohio, 1886), 160–72, 176–77.
[59] *National Labor Tribune*, Mar. 18, 1882.
[60] *Writings and Speeches of Eugene V. Debs*, ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (New York, 1948), 4–6.
[61] *Labor Leader*, Oct. 12, 1895.

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spring of human compassion for Debs, "in Eden for the happiness of Adam and Eve," and then "the winds had scattered the seed throughout the earth." Without sympathy, Debs concluded, there could be "no humanity, no elevating, refining, ennobling influences."[62]

The most eloquent Gilded Age labor reformer, George E. McNeill, was an abolitionist turned staunch American Federation of Labor trade-unionist and Christian socialist. He was also an essential link between preindustrial American reform and the Gilded Age labor movement. McNeill rarely spoke or wrote without imparting a deep Christian fervor.[63] In 1876 he complained in the socialist *Labor Standard:* "It is the old, old story. . . . Have the Pharaoh's descendants nothing to learn from Pharaoh's fate?"[64] At a meeting eleven years later to condemn the hanging of Albert Parsons, McNeill announced: "I believe in the passive force of non-resistance as 'Him of old'. . . . I come here tonight as a Christian."[65] In 1890 he once again tied labor reform to Christian ethics:

> The Pilgrim leaven still works, true to the fundamental principles of the great Leader of men. . . . The influence of the teachings of the Carpenter's Son still tends to counteract the influence of Mammon. In this movement of the laborers toward equity, we will find a new revelation of the Old Gospel, when the Golden Rule of Christ shall measure the relations of men in all their duties toward their fellows. . . . Though the Mammon-worshippers may cry, "Crucify Him! Crucify Him!", the promise of the prophet and the poet shall be fulfilled . . . by the free acceptance of the Gospel that all men are of one blood. Then the new Pentecost will come, when every man shall have according to his needs.[66]

Three years later, McNeill found "the religious life" of the labor movement nothing less than "a protest against the mammonizing interpretation of religious truth." He wanted "the kingdom of Heaven (of equity and righteousness) to come on earth," but, more importantly, argued that "religious truth," adapted to the realities of industrial society, had meaning for his America. "A new interpretation of the old truth, 'That the chief end of man is to glorify God and to enjoy him forever,' reads that the glorification of God is the reinstatement of man in the likeness of God; that to enjoy God forever all things must be directed toward the securing for all the largest measure of happiness."[67] McNeill never changed. In 1902, sixty-five years

[62] *Union* (Indianapolis), Jan. 17, 1896.

[63] Arthur Mann, *Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), 178–84, contains perceptive comments on the career and importance of McNeill, but most labor historians have minimized his importance.

[64] *Labor Standard,* Nov.–Dec. 1876.

[65] *Labor Enquirer,* Nov. 27, 1887.

[66] *Labor Leader,* Feb.–Mar. 1890.

[67] George E. McNeill, *The Philosophy of the Labor Movement* (Chicago, 1893), unpaged pamphlet.

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old, he reaffirmed his continued faith in the supremacy of "moral power," but nevertheless warned: "Submission is good, but the order of God may light the torch of Revolution."[68]

Evangelical Protestantism that emphasized the possibility of perfect holiness in this world found expression among trade-unionists of less importance than McNeill and other national leaders. Negro activists in the early United Mine Workers of America (1890–1900) reveal such an influence.[69] A preacher and coal miner, William Riley won election in 1892 as secretary-treasurer of the Tennessee district and importuned fellow Negroes to join the union:

> Continue to battle on for the right, seek wisdom and be wise, act honest men and by so doing both white and colored men will love to respect you, and God Himself will bless you. . . . Yes, my people, wake up and ask yourselves these questions: How long am I to live in ignorance? How long am I to be a pullback to my race? How long am I to be a stumbling block for the cause of labor, justice, and humanity? Say as the prodigal did: I will arise and join the labor unions and rally for its [*sic*] rights, defend its [*sic*] cause and be known among my own craftsmen as a man among men.[70]

The tensions between an active, just God and the day-to-day realities of a Negro coal miner's life strained William E. Clark, a Rendville, Ohio, miner. He reported:

> My mind has wandered from world to world. My first wonder, was, I wonder if the other worlds were inhabited? Did they have the same kind of law and government that we have? And my next wonder was, was this world of ours the hell we read about in the good book? If it is not, how can a man stand the punishment twice, and then live through eternity? They burn men alive, skin them, lynch them, shoot them, and torture them. . . ."[71]

The most important early UMW Negro leader, Richard L. Davis, elected to the National Executive Board in 1896 and 1897, penned many letters that suggested the influence of evangelical imperatives. He found in the union a secular church that promised redemption from an evil social order. He gave to his work the zeal and devotion expected of a dedicated missionary. Miners who threatened to quit the UMW heard from him the words of Paul in the New Testament: "Except those abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved." Preachers designated the "ship as a church," but Davis called the UMW "the ship" and insisted: "I now exhort you that except ye abide in the ship

[68] *American Federationist*, IX (Sept. 1902), 479–80.

[69] Further details on the role of Negroes in the early United Mine Workers of America are found in Herbert G. Gutman, "The Negro and the United Mine Workers. The Career and Letters of Richard L. Davis and Something of Their Meaning: 1890–1900," in "The Negro and the American Labor Movement," ed. Julius Jacobson (New York, in press).

[70] Riley to the editor, *United Mine Workers' Journal*, Sept. 8, 1892.

[71] Clark to the editor, *ibid.*, Aug. 9, 1894.

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ye cannot be saved."[72] A common religious rhetoric helped Davis war against factionalism. He denied the charge of fellow Negroes who called the UMW "a white man's organization" and told them: "You yourselves are men and . . . have the same interest at stake as your white brother, because . . . I believe in the principle of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of all mankind no matter what the color of his [*sic*] skin may be." Davis' evangelical fervor was not otherworldly. "I know," he addressed these same Negroes, "that in former days you used to sing 'Give me Jesus, give me Jesus, you may have all the world, just give me Jesus.' But the day has now come that we want a little money along with our Jesus, so we want to change that old song and ask for a little of the world as well."[73] Urging compact labor organization, Davis argued that "we are taught by teachings of the Holy Writ that in unity there is strength."[74] The acquittal of a Pennsylvania sheriff involved in the shooting of several Polish anthracite miners in 1898 caused Davis to lament: "It is as we expected. . . . The miner has no rights that the coal barons are bound to respect. Surely, oh Heaven, this condition of things will not last forever."[75]

Just as Christianity motivated so many labor leaders who organized the reaction against the radical transition from preindustrial to industrial America, so, too, did it serve to condemn particular aspects of that new society and its ideology. A few examples illustrate. The *United Mine Workers' Journal* felt that legal convict leasing of coal miners proved "the laws of Tennessee . . . in conflict with Christianity, civilization and government."[76] Exploitative child factory labor caused the Chicago *Knights of Labor* to explode: "When Jesus said, 'Suffer little children to come unto me,' He did not have a shirt or cloak factory, nor a planing mill, that He wanted to put them into at 40 cents per day. He wanted to bless them and show them the light."[77] The San Francisco Manufacturer's and Employer's Association defense of "free contract" led Andrew Furuseth, secretary of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, to exclaim indignantly: "If the present system be right, then Christianity is a lie; if the present system be right, then Robert Ingersoll is not a censer-boy in the Temple of Mammon, but the prophet of a new dispensation."[78] Critics of Labor Day learned that "Labor Day is one of the signs of the millennium."[79]

[72] Davis to the editor, *ibid.*, Aug. 15, 1895.
[73] Davis to the editor, *ibid.*, Apr. 18, 1892.
[74] Davis to the editor, *ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1897.
[75] Davis to the editor, *ibid.*, Mar. 3, 10, 1898.
[76] *Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1892.
[77] *Knights of Labor*, Sept. 25, 1886.
[78] *Coast Seaman's Journal*, June 29, 1892.
[79] *Railway Times*, June 1, 1895.

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Those who saw in Christianity justification for industrial laissez faire especially felt the sting of labor critics. The *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine* declared the "theory" that "God assigns anyone a station in life . . . preposterous, repulsive, and degrading to God and man."[80] Men who argued that "labor, like flour or cotton cloth, should always be bought in the cheapest market" did so because "an All-wise God, for some inscrutable purpose, has created them" so that workers could see "to what viciousness the antagonism to labor has arrived" and then "beat back to its native hell the theory that . . . laborers . . . are merchandise to be bought and sold as any other commodity—as cattle, mules, swine. . . ."[81] Clergymen who upheld the competitive system learned: "The church which allows the competitive system of each for himself, without a never-silent protest, is not a living Christian church; for 'each for himself' is a gospel of lies. That never was God's decree."[82] And the argument that poverty enjoyed God's blessings met the retort: "Do you think it is anything short of insulting to God to pretend to believe He makes of ninety-nine paving material for the one to walk into Heaven over?"[83] Paul's directive to Titus to "obey magistrates" was rejected. If followed "by the patriots of '76," explained the *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine,* "a new nation would not have been born."[84]

Christian example and religious exaltation proved especially important in times of severe discontent and defeat and in challenging dominant Gilded Age "myths." Two examples suffice. After the Pullman strike and boycott and Debs's imprisonment, a Portland, Oregon, railroad worker drew inferences and analogies only from sacred history:

> Were Moses now living, and the Almighty should send him to a General Manager's office to protest against corporation robberies, he would be forthwith arrested and thrown into jail, and if Moses should appeal to the Supreme Court, the infamous proceedings would be sustained and declared constitutional; and therefore, the way I look at it, the corporation slaves of the United States are in a worse condition than were the slaves of Pharaoh. But in the case of Pharaoh, God put a curse upon him. The corporation Pharaohs are not to have their way always. There may be a Red Sea just ahead—but beyond it is the promised land.
>
> Egypt had only one Pharaoh at a time on the throne. Here we have probably a hundred of the abnormal monsters, all engaged in enslaving working people. . . . The Egyptian Pharaoh did not send Moses to prison. . . . He could have done it.

[80] *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine,* XI (Apr. 1887), 207–208.

[81] *Ibid.,* X (Sept. 1886), 519–20. See also Hermit of the Hills to the editor, *National Labor Tribune,* Jan. 1, 1876, who wrote: "No happiness can come to men or nations—no Kingdom of Heaven can descend upon earth—as long as this false system of antagonism—of working each against the other—continues."

[82] *Journal of United Labor,* Sept. 13, 1888.

[83] *Ibid.,* Sept. 20, 1888.

[84] *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine,* XVIII (Sept. 1894), 877–79.

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He had absolute power. He was a despot with a big D. . . . Here a labor leader is condemned and thrown into prison by a decree of one small contemptible Pharaoh at the suggestion of a General Manager Pharaoh . . . and there is no appeal except to the Buzzards Bay Pharaoh [Grover Cleveland's Summer White House was in Buzzard's Bay.], which would be like appealing from a pig stealing coyote to a grizzly bear.[85]

The second example concerns Andrew Carnegie and his belief in the "Gospel of Wealth," the notion of "stewardship." At the time of its enunciation, the *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine* scorned the "Gospel of Wealth" as "flapdoodle" and "slush." Of Carnegie, it said: "While asserting that the '"Gospel of Wealth" but echoes Christ's words,' [he] endeavors to wriggle out of the tight place in which Christ's words place him." It required "patience" to read about "the 'right modes of using immense fortunes' known to be the product of cool, Christless robbery."[86] The Homestead conflict in 1892 caused the same journal to call Carnegie and Henry Clay Frick "brazen pirates [who] prate . . . of the 'spirit of Christ' [and] who plunder labor that they may build churches, endow universities and found libraries."[87] In 1894 the conservative *National Labor Tribune* joined in mocking Carnegie's professions:

Oh, Almighty Andrew Philanthropist Library Carnegie, who are in America when not in Europe spending the money of your slaves and serfs, thou are a good father to the people of Pittsburgh, Homestead and Beaver Falls. . . . Oh, most adorable Carnegie, we love thee, because thou are the almighty iron and steel king of the world; thou who so much resembles the pharisee. . . . We thank thee and thy combines for the hungry men, women and children of the land. We thank thee and thy combines for the low price of iron and steel and the low price paid in iron and steel works. . . . Oh, master, we thank thee for all the free gifts you have given the public at the expense of your slaves. . . . Oh, master, we need no protection, we need no liberty so long as we are under thy care. So we command ourselves to thy mercy and forevermore sing thy praise. Amen![88]

Such language could not be misunderstood.

Although the evidence emphasized in these pages indicates the exist-

[85] *Railway Times,* Aug. 15, 1895.

[86] *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine,* XIV (Feb. 1890), 104–106.

[87] *Ibid.,* XVI (Aug. 1892), reprinted in *Writings and Speeches of Eugene V. Debs,* ed. Schlesinger, 378–82.

[88] *National Labor Tribune,* n.d., reprinted in *Coming Age,* Feb. 10, 1894. Such satiric use of traditional religious forms recurred in these years. See, for example, "A Miner's Prayer. . . ," *United Mine Workers' Journal,* May 16, 1895: "Oh! Almighty and allwise and powerful coal barons who art living in great and glorious palaces, when thou art not in secret meeting working for our interest and welfare, we hail thy blessed name as the great philanthropist of our commercial world to-day. We bow before thee in humble submission. . . . We are Americans of the modern type, not like Jefferson, Hancock and Washington. . . . We are your fools, liars, suckers; spit in our faces and rub it in. We have no business to want an education for our children or ourselves. We ain't got any sense. We don't want any; it don't take any sense to load coal for thee. . . . Did Dred Scott ever serve his master better? . . . Amen."

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ence of a working-class social Christianity and suggests that Protestantism had a particular meaning for discontented Gilded Age labor leaders, social radicals, and even ordinary workers, it is hazardous to infer too much from it alone about the working class. Too little is yet known about nineteenth-century American Protestant workers. Evidence on church affiliation, for example, is contradictory. While many contemporaries like D. O. Kellogg, general secretary of the Charity Organization of Philadelphia, frequently worried over the "widespread skepticism and alienation from Christianity prevalent among the workingmen" and complained that institutional Protestantism often was "out of the poor man's reach," inadequate but significant statistics for church affiliation among the general population, not just workers, show an increase from 16 per cent in 1850 to 36 per cent in 1900.[89] Until more is known about particular groups of workers and their relations to institutional and noninstitutional religious sentiment and belief, however, it remains impossible to reconcile such seemingly contradictory evidence. Scattered but still inconclusive evidence hints at an apparent close connection between youthful religious conversion and subsequent labor militancy among certain workers.[90] The considerable but as yet largely neg-

[89] D. O. Kellogg, "Some Causes of Pauperism and Their Cure," *Penn Monthly,* XI (Apr. 1878), 275–76, 281–82; Olmstead, *History of Religion,* 447.

[90] Of the British experience, Hobsbawm writes: "The sect and the labour movement were —especially among the cadres and leaders of the movement—connected . . . by the process of conversion: that is to say, by the sudden, emotionally overpowering realizing of sin and the finding of grace. . . . Conversion indicated, reflected, or perhaps stimulated the kind of unselfish activity which labour militancy inevitably implied. . . . Conversion of some kind is, of course, a commonplace in labour movements." (Hobsbawm, *Social Bandits and Primitive Rebels,* 140.) Too little is known about this phenomenon among American trade-unionists and social reformers. But Gabriel perceptively points out that Henry George's beginning awareness of the "social problem" in New York in 1869 came to him as a "conversion after the pattern of evangelical Protestantism." George himself wrote: "Once, in daylight, and in a city street, there came to me a thought, a vision, a call—give it what name you please. But every nerve quivered. And there and then I made a vow." (Gabriel, *Course of American Democratic Thought,* 208–11.) There is also the case of Samuel Fielden, one of the anarchists convicted in the aftermath of the Haymarket bombing. As a Lancashire youth and factory worker, Fielden was converted to Primitive Methodism and became an active lay preacher. Years later, he wrote: "I felt that that religion . . . which I thought was calculated to better the world was something that was worth while for me to use my energies in propagating, and I did it. I could not help it. . . . So intense and earnest was I at that time that I was at one and the same time the Sunday school superintendent of a little Sunday school, a class teacher, a local preacher, and what was called an exhorter. . . ." Fielden came to the United States in 1868. Some years later he came into contact with secular radical ideology. His description of his "conversion" to socialism suggests a close parallel to evangelical conversion and the process Hobsbawm describes. Fielden explains his growing discontent with industrial America and goes on: "My ideas did not become settled as to what was the remedy, but when they did, I carried the same energy and the same determination to bring about that remedy that I had applied to ideas which I had possessed years before. There is always a period in every individual's life when some sympathetic chord is touched by some other person. There is the open sesame that carries conviction. The ground may have all been prepared. The evidence may have all been accumulated but it has not formed in any shape; in fact, the child has not been born. The new idea has not impressed itself thoroughly when that sympathetic chord is touched, and the person is thoroughly convinced of the idea. It was so in my investigation

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lected variations in the experience and outlook of factory workers and skilled craftsmen and of self-educated artisans and casual day laborers as well as the different social environments of small, semirural factory and mining villages, industrial cities, and large urban centers suggest other important analytic problems in exploring the relationship between Protestantism and the "working class."[91] And there are additional complexities. It is risky to assume too close a relationship between religious sentiment and rhetoric and everyday behavior, and it is equally perilous to view church attendance and affiliation as proof of religious belief or not attending church as presumptive evidence of the opposite. An example of the confusion that might result was the response of an unidentified worker when asked in 1898: "Why are so many intelligent workingmen non-church goers?" "Jesus Christ," he replied, "is with us outside the church, and we shall prevail with God."[92]

Despite these many difficulties, a perspective over more than one or two generations suggests tentative connections between the religious mode of expression of many Gilded Age trade-unionists and labor radicals and the behavior of larger numbers of disaffected Gilded Age Protestant workers. Except for those unions that drew support primarily from workers living in small towns and semirural or other isolated areas, the language of labor leaders and social radicals and the tone of their press after 1900 displayed a marked decline in religious emphasis when compared to the labor speeches, editorials, and letters penned between 1860 and 1900. In part this difference suggests the growing secularization of the national culture, but it also makes possible a particular view of Gilded Age workers, seeing them as a transitional generation that bridged two distinct social structures and was the first to encounter fully the profound strains accompanying the shift to an urban and industrial social order. Not separated emotionally or historically from a different past, they lived through an era of extreme social change and social disorder, but carried with them meaningful and deeply felt traditions and values rooted in the immediate and even more distant past. This process was not unique to the United States, but occurred at different times in other rapidly changing societies and greatly explains the behavior of the "first

of political economy. . . . A person said to me Socialism meant equal opportunities—and that was the touch. From that time on I became a Socialist. . . . I knew that I had found the right thing; and I had found the medicine that was calculated to cure the ills of society." (*The Accused, the Accusers,* 36–39.)

[91] Asa Briggs, *The Making of Modern England, 1784–1867* (New York, 1965), 287.

[92] H. Francis Perry, "The Workingman's Alienation from the Church," *American Journal of Sociology,* IV (Mar. 1899), 626.

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generation" to have contact with a radically different economic and social structure.[93] Although it is an exaggeration to argue that the violent and often disorganized protest characteristic of so much Gilded Age labor agitation resulted only from the tension between the outlook the worker brought to the Gilded Age and that era's rapidly changing economic and social structure, it is not too much to suggest that the thought and the behavior of Gilded Age workers were peculiar to that generation.

Vital in both pre-Civil War reform movements and evangelical crusades, perfectionist Christianity carried over into the Gilded Age and offered the uprooted but discontented Protestant worker ties with the certainties of his past and reasons for his disaffection with the present by denying for him the premises of Gilded Age America and the not yet "conventional wisdom" of that day. In 1874 the secretary of the Miners' Protective and Progressive Association of Western Pennsylvania, George Archbold, called the trade-union a "God-given right" and warned fellow unionists of employer opposition: "The Philistines are upon you, and the fair Delilah would rob you of your locks and shear you of your power."[94] Twenty-three years later and not in entirely dissimilar language, West Coast labor organizer and sailor Andrew Furuseth celebrated the twelfth anniversary of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific:

> Congress may rob us of our rights as men, and may make us bondsmen. The Judiciary may say "Well done" and uphold them. Yet we have our manhood from nature's God, and being true to our best interests we shall yet as free men turn our faces to the sun. . . . We must organize ourselves and align ourselves with the forces which in our country are making for that brotherhood for which Jesus died. So we must as individuals forget home, self and life if need be, to reconquer our liberty, to preserve the sacredness of our bodies, which by Paul were called "the temples of the living God."[95]

Such an emphasis was common to men who disagreed on other matters

[93] Hobsbawm, *Social Bandits and Primitive Rebels*, 1–12, 126–49, but especially 3 when he writes of this generation: "They do not as yet grow with or into modern society: they are broken into it. . . . Their problem is how to adapt themselves to its life and struggles." See also Max Weber's compelling observation that "whenever modern capitalism has begun its work of increasing the productivity of human labor by increasing its intensity, it has encountered the immensely stubborn resistance of . . . pre-capitalistic labor" and the extensive comments on it in Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, 356 ff. Perceptive argument for a "generational" analysis by social historians is found in Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (New York, 1964), 185–87: "Men who are born into the same social environment about the same time necessarily come under analogous influences, particularly in their formative years. Experience proves that, by comparison with either considerably older or considerably younger groups, their behavior reveals certain distinctive characteristics which are ordinarily very clear. This is true even of their bitterest disagreements. To be excited by the same dispute even on opposing sides is still to be alike. This common stamp, deriving from a common age, is what makes a generation."

[94] *National Labor Tribune*, Jan. 31, 1874.

[95] *Coast Seaman's Journal*, Mar. 17, 1897.

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such as trade-union strategy and the long-range purposes of labor organization and reform. That it is found among "business" unionists, Knights of Labor, and socialist and anarchist radicals and is as prevalent in the 1890's as in the 1860's suggests that it characterized no particular segment of organized labor, but was common to a generation of disaffected workers. Even the German Marxist immigrant Adolph Douai revealed its influence. Although he worried that "enthusiasm without reason engenders fanaticism and thus baffles the noblest purposes," Douai nevertheless pleaded in 1887: "Our age needs religious enthusiasm for the sake of common brotherhood, because infidelity is rampant and hypocrisy prevails in all churches—an infidelity of a peculiar kind, being a disbelief in the destiny of men to be brothers and sisters, in their common quality [*sic*] and rights." Douai depicted the Gilded Age labor movement as "*the* religion of common brotherhood."[96]

Preindustrial Christian perfectionism offered Gilded Age labor reformers absolute values in a time of rapid social change and allowed the labor reformer or radical to identify with "timeless truths" that legitimized his attack on the absolutes of Gilded Age social thought—the determinism of Spencerian dogma, the sanctity of property rights and freedom of contract, and the rigidity of political laissez faire.[97] "Conditions" had changed, but the "issues" remained as of old, wrote the *Printer's Labor Tribune,* immediate forerunner to the important Pittsburgh *National Labor Tribune,* in arguing that "the war between capital and labor" was being "fought all the time, and [was] . . . identical with civilization itself." Privilege and monopoly were not new. "When Adam commenced business as a farmer, he enjoyed a monopoly, and the same might be said of Noah, but this could not continue," wrote the *Tribune* in 1873. Industrialism merely altered the terms of

[96] *Workmen's Advocate* (New Haven, Conn.), May 14, 1887.

[97] Vittorio Lanterari, *The Religion of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults* (New York, 1965), x. "Although each history has its own teleology," Lanterari writes, "the important fact is that the drive which motivates man's practical choices and causes him to struggle and suffer for a better future is common to all and rises out of a faith that is absolute. Thus, even while man is aware of the relativity of human values and goals, nonetheless he behaves 'as if' the goal were a final one (*eschaton*) and 'as if' the values he defends were absolute values." In this connection, an editorial in *Railway Times* (Nov. 1, 1895) is of great interest. The official journal of the American Railway Union worried why, although "truth" is "one of the attributes of deity, . . . the disciples of error, the devotees of lies, professing to be champions of truth, have betrayed it and placed it on a thousand scaffolds, from Calvary to Woodstock." The *Times* explained: "There is an intimate relation between truth and freedom. Christ said, 'Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.' It is this declaration that solves the problem. If men are free, they will have found the truth, but they will be free only while they cling to it, maintain it, defend it, hold it aloft, swear by it, and fight for it on every battle field where its enemies appear; and if need be, die for it. . . ." But this labor newspaper worried that in the United States "error has erected its golden god and commands the nation to fall down and worship it."

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a historic conflict. "The age of steam, electricity and progress generally shows up a new phase of this old war. We have to fight against the old enemy of the masses, only under a new shape."[98] Coal miner and union organizer W. H. Haskins could declare: "Brothers, the principles of organized labor are as old as the old gray rocks and sand of Mt. Sinai."[99] And Knights of Labor leader Charles Litchman could promise:

> If you ask me to say how this system is to be changed, when the emancipation of the toiling millions on earth is to come, I can only say, "I know not *when* it will come, but I know it will come," because in the sight of God and God's angels the wrongs of the toiling millions on earth are a curse and a crime, and that as God is mercy and God is love, in His own good time the toiler will be free.[100]

Although the labor press frequently complained that institutional Protestantism had "come down to the level of merchandise, and our modern Levites worship the golden calf and offer their wares, like fakirs, to the highest bidder,"[101] the *United Mine Workers' Journal* printed on its first page a sermon by Baptist minister J. Thalmus Morgan for good reason. Morgan warned from his Ohio mining village pulpit:

> God's laws of right and wrong are ever the same and cannot be changed until God and man's moral nature shall be changed. Opinions may change, but truth never. Truth is truth to the end of all reckoning. What was right in the time of Moses, Mordecai and Ehud will be right forever. . . . God shall judge the poor of the people; He shall save the children of the needy, and shall break into pieces the oppressor. Yes, He will do the poor justice, for He will delight in doing them good. . . . And [He] shall break into pieces oppression. He is strong to smite the foes of His people. Oppressors have been great breakers, but their time of retribution shall come, and they shall be broken themselves.[102]

[98] *Printer's Labor Tribune* (Pittsburgh), Nov. 27, 1873. See also the editorial in the Providence *Sun,* Apr. 14, 1875, a Rhode Island labor weekly, which insisted: "From the Old Testament times the Almighty has had a controversy with those who have robbed the laborer of his wages."

[99] *United Mine Workers' Journal,* Jan. 17, 1895.

[100] *Journal of United Labor* (Philadelphia), Aug. 27, 1888.

[101] *Coast Seaman's Journal,* Oct. 18, 1893. Earlier examples of this critical attitude toward the clergy's dominant social conservatism are found in reviews of Washington Gladden's *Working People and Their Employers* (Boston, 1876) in the *Workingman's Advocate* (Chicago), Aug. 26, 1876, and the *National Labor Tribune,* Sept. 16, 1876. The *Tribune* was especially hard on Gladden: "He is a shallow thinker and writer. Had his book never been written nothing would have been lost. Preachers, as a class, are not able to deal with the Labor problem, and Mr. Gladden is no exception."

[102] *United Mine Workers' Journal,* June 28, 1894. What Morgan's sermon typified cannot be known because the ideas and social outlook of local clergymen, particularly those in industrial towns and cities and those with predominantly working-class congregations, have not yet been studied, and it is not helpful to infer their thoughts and behavior from national religious periodicals. Scattered but inconclusive evidence suggests that an unexplored dimension of the clerical social gospel may be uncovered by studying the clergy in such communities. A few examples suffice. After discontented and unpaid Erie Railroad shopworkers and repair mechanics stopped trains and took control of the repair shops in March 1874, eighteen hundred state militia went to Susquehanna Depot, Pennsylvania, to restore order. But a local minister preached a severe Sunday sermon against the railroad company. (H. G. Gutman, "Trouble on the Railroads in 1873–1874," *Labor History,* II [Spring 1961], 228.) In 1880 a socialist

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The transcendent values that organized labor found in such postmillennial Christian exhortation helped steel it in a transitional era of deep crisis. "The mandate, 'Thou shalt glorify me in thy works,' is Labor's first article of faith," concluded the *Coast Seaman's Journal*.[103]

Although trade-unionists and labor radicals were not the only critics of Gilded Age industrial America, the social Christianity they espoused was different from the more widely known and well-studied social gospel put forth by middle- and upper-class religious critics of that society. Both groups reacted against the early disintegrating consequences of rapid industrialization and drew from the same broad religious tradition. But parallel developments are not necessarily synonymous even though they occur at the same time and share a common mode of expression. The available evidence suggests few formal connections between the two "movements" and for several reasons. Before the 1890's, the two groups, so different in their social composition and in the way industrial and social change affected them, rarely addressed each other and usually spoke to different audiences. Despite many diversities (its "radical" and "conservative" fringes), the essential attributes of the early social gospel movement are characterized by Henry May in a way that makes it possible to distinguish it from its working-class counterpart:

> The Social Gospel of the American nineteenth century . . . did not grow out of actual suffering but rather out of moral and intellectual dissatisfaction with the

newspaper editor, Irish immigrant Joseph P. McDonnell, served time in a Passaic County, New Jersey, jail for libeling a brickyard owner by publishing a letter that exposed conditions in a Paterson brickyard. Two Paterson clergymen, one a Baptist and the other a Methodist, publicly supported McDonnell and sided with the workers. (*Id.*, "Industrial Invasion of the Village Green," *Trans-action*, III [May–June 1966], 19–24.) After the fierce violence in 1892 between strikers and Pinkerton police that resulted in more than thirty deaths, a Homestead, Pennsylvania, Methodist preacher said of Henry Clay Frick at the funeral services for three dead strikers: "This town is bathed in tears today, and it is all brought about by one man, who is less respected by the laboring people than any other employer in the world. There is no more sensibility in that man than in a toad." (Leon Woolf, *Lockout. The Story of the Homestead Strike of 1892: A Study of Violence, Unionism, and the Carnegie Steel Empire* [New York, 1965], 133.) At the time of the 1894 Pullman strike and boycott, William Carwardine, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Pullman, bitterly attacked George Pullman and called his model town "a hollow mockery, a sham, an institution girdled with red tape, and as a solution to the labor problem most unsatisfactory." Carwardine supported the strikers and was joined by Morris L. Wickman, pastor of the Pullman Swedish Methodist Church, who sharply criticized the firm before the United States Strike Commission. (Almost Lindsay, *The Pullman Strike* [Chicago, 1942], 73, 103; May, *Protestant Churches*, 109–11.) Although he frequently criticized the social orthodoxy of most institutional Protestant churches and was himself without religious sentiment, Gompers nevertheless interestingly wrote in 1898 that not all clergymen deserved his condemnation: "The men who preach from their pulpits and breathe with every word their sympathy with the great struggling masses of humanity; . . . these ministers you will find always interesting, and not only interesting, but the churches filled with workers who go to hear them." (Perry, "Workingman's Alienation from the Church," 623.)

[103] *Coast Seaman's Journal*, Aug. 29, 1894.

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suffering of others. It originated not with the "disinherited" but rather with the educated and pious middle class. It grew through argument, not through agitation; it pleaded for conversion, not revolt or withdrawal.[104]

Critical of business behavior and the individualist ethic of their time and anxious to infuse all social classes with a meaningful Christian ethic, few early advocates of the social gospel identified closely with organized labor and its particular forms of collective organization and protest. Few shared Henry George's belief that "the revolt everywhere" against the "hard conditions of modern society is really the religious spirit."[105] They sought first to mediate between the competing classes and frequently failed to understand the "immediacy" of labor discontent. Only a small number, May finds, arranged "a successful working relation between their ultimate confidence in the new social spirit and the drab realities of day-to-day struggle."[106] Even the young Richard T. Ely and Washington Gladden, both so typical of the mainstream social gospel movement and both profoundly at odds with the materialism of their times, found it difficult at the start to associate themselves with working-class organizations and their methods and objectives.[107] Of the early social gospel movement, Charles H. Hopkins concludes that its "inclusive panacea" was "Christianity itself." Quoting Gladden, he adds: " 'the power of Christian love' was declared to be strong enough 'to smooth and sweeten all relations of capitalists and labor.' " Society would change mainly "through the converted individual whose changed character would

[104] May, *Protestant Churches,* 235.

[105] *Labor: Its Rights and Wrongs,* 261–68. George linked all contemporary protest movements, even the most radical, and compared them to early Christian history: "Who are these men, the Socialists, the Anarchists, the Nihilists, and what is it they seek? . . . Is it not for a state of greater equality, for a state of more perfect peace, for a condition where no one will want and no one will suffer for the material needs of existence? That is the ideal those men have before them, blind and wrong their methods though they be. And what is that ideal? Is it not the kingdom of God on earth? What was the reason that a doctrine preached by a humble Jewish carpenter, who was crucified between two thieves, propagated by slaves and fugitives meeting in caverns, overran the world and overthrew the might of legions and the tortures of the amphitheatre and dungeon? Was it for theological distinction that Rome, the tolerant Rome, that welcomed all Gods to her Pantheon, persecuted the adherents of this new Galilean superstition? No. . . . It was because they sought the kingdom of God on earth. It was because they hoped to bring it about there and then. . . . That doctrine of the fatherhood of a common Creator and the brotherhood of men struck at the roots of tyranny; struck at the privileges of those who were living in luxury on the toil and the blood and the sweat of the worker. . . ."

[106] May, *Protestant Churches,* 231–35.

[107] In 1886 Ely, for example, defended trade-unions and attacked employer abuses in his significant *The Labor Movement in America,* but nevertheless urged discontented workers to "cast aside envy" and told them: "While the Bible is a good armory from which you may draw weapons of attack, it at the same time points out the right course for you to take. . . . It discourages no good effort; but even James followed his awful condemnation of the oppressor with these wise words, 'Be ye also patient.' " (R. T. Ely, *The Labor Movement in America* [New York, 1886], v–xiii.) Gladden early attacked the industrial abuses of his time, but still found labor unions "often unwise and unprofitable" and argued that "as a general thing" unions "result in more loss than gain to the laboring classes." (Quoted in John L. Shover, "Washington Gladden and the Labor Question," *Ohio Historical Quarterly,* LXVIII [Oct. 1959], 335–52.)

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produce a social transformation."[108] Such thought and argument stimulated numerous middle- and upper-class reformers in late nineteenth-century America, but what May calls its "facile optimism" and its "fatal tendency to underestimate difficulties and to neglect mechanism" cut it off from working-class critics of industrial society.[109]

Protestantism in Gilded Age America permeated the social structure and the value system of the nation more deeply and in different ways than heretofore emphasized by that era's historians. The careers and writings of Henry Ward Beecher, Dwight Moody, Mary Baker Eddy, Washington Gladden, and the trade-unionists and labor radicals described in these pages illustrate the complexity of the relationship between religious belief and organization and the component parts of a particular social structure. Although what has been written here must not be interpreted as a single explanation for the little-studied subject of nineteenth-century working-class thought and behavior, it should be clear that the social gospel early found expression among those who professed to speak for the discontented lower classes and that the behavior of these critics of industrial capitalism cannot be understood without first exploring the religious (and secular) dimensions of their thought. For some workers and their leaders, including some of the most prominent Gilded Age trade-unionists and radicals, a particular strand of Protestantism offered what Hobsbawm calls "a passion and morality in which the most ignorant can compete on equal terms" and what Liston Pope describes as a religion "intimately related to the everyday struggles and vicissitudes of an insecure life" and "useful for interpretation and succor."[110] In 1893 one American pondered existential questions:

> While man is nothing more than a human, he has feeling. . . . While I am not a preacher nor one among the best of men, I am one who believes in Christ and His teachings and endeavor each day to live the life of a Christian. . . . My way is not everybody's way, and it would be wrong to even suppose it should be. . . . Now, what is my motive? . . . My reasoning is after this manner: Can man within himself accomplish as much while self exists as when he considers, Am I the only being that lives? and finds in answer, no. But I am one among millions, a pitiful drop in the bucket he thinks at once. . . . Am I right? Man wants everything but that which is best for him and his brother.[111]

These were not the words of Henry Ward Beecher, Russell Conwell, Mary Baker Eddy, Dwight Moody, William Lawrence, Lyman Atwater, John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, or even Washington Gladden; they were penned by an unidentified but troubled Belleville, Ohio, coal miner.

[108] Hopkins, *Rise of the Social Gospel*, 70, 89, 325.
[109] May, *Protestant Churches*, 233.
[110] Hobsbawm, *Social Bandits and Primitive Rebels*, 132; Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers* (New Haven, Conn., 1942), 86.
[111] *United Mine Workers' Journal*, June 29, 1893.

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Herodotus and the Strategy and Tactics of the Invasion of Xerxes

ARTHER FERRILL*

IN the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Herodotus has received perhaps more than his fair share of attention from classical scholars. A number of very good books have been written on him, as well as other studies on his subject matter, the Persian Wars.[1] In addition, the scholarly journals contain so many excellent articles dealing with Herodotus that the present-day student can digest them only with considerable effort.[2] Yet in recent years the veritable spate of books and articles on him has continued to appear.[3]

In one major area, however—Herodotus' understanding of strategy and tactics—there has been very little work. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians of the Persian Wars have been so concerned with the problem of reconstructing their strategy and tactics along lines suitable to modern military academies that they have devoted little attention to the simple question: how well did Herodotus understand the principles of strategy and tactics?

Actually, he did comprehend the strategic and tactical problems of the Persian invasion, a comprehension he displays in many passages. At other times, however, a number of weaknesses appear in his narrative of military events; these weaknesses have too often caused scholars to overlook the perceptiveness of his account, but, as we shall see below, they illuminate a major aspect of his historical thought.

This is not the ordinary view of most historians of the Persian Wars, who maintain that Herodotus had little or no knowledge of strategy and tactics. R. M. Macan, G. B. Grundy, Amédée Hauvette, W. W. How and

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[1] References to the most important of these books will appear in subsequent notes.

[2] An excellent, though by no means complete, collection of such works can be found in *Herodot: Eine Auswahl aus der neueren Forschung,* ed. Walter Marg (Munich, 1962), esp. 748–66. See also Paul MacKendrick, "Herodotus: The Making of a World Historian," *Classical World,* XLVII (Mar. 1954), 145–52.

[3] *Id.,* "Herodotus, 1954–1963," *ibid.,* LVI (June 1963), 269–75.

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Joseph Wells, Johannes Kromayer and Georg Veith, T. R. Glover, F. E. Adcock, and A. R. Burn take almost identical approaches to Herodotus' knowledge of military affairs.[4] According to them he had no knowledge of such matters; nor should we expect it of him because he was personally inexperienced in warfare and was unable to acquire information from the Persian and Greek high command. His sources were the men in the street. These two factors—inexperience and lack of really good sources—excuse Herodotus, as far as most scholars are concerned, for his "ignorance" of strategy and tactics and the blunders in his narrative of military action.

Adcock perhaps states the current view as well as anyone:

> With the fifth century we may turn to Herodotus, who could have talked with veterans of the Persian Wars he describes and even, it may be, with Aeschylus, whose *Persae* is instinct with a lively memory of the battles in which he fought. But though Herodotus was many admirable things, he was not what Caeser says *he* was—a "military man." Greek warfare in Herodotus has an epic quality which does justice to the greatness, the moving character, of the events which he describes, but he contributes little to our understanding of the art of war.[5]

It is important to note that Adcock does not try to "prove" this statement. He simply makes it, on the certain assumption that no one in the field will venture to challenge its truth.

In all fairness it should be emphasized that some scholars have been quite favorable in their general attitude toward Herodotus. One outstanding example is John Myres, but Myres never dealt specifically with Herodotus' knowledge of strategy and tactics.[6] Others, such as N. G. L. Hammond and W. K. Pritchett, have relied strongly on Herodotus as a military historian, but again they have not addressed themselves directly to my question.[7]

Quite recently Charles Hignett has made an attempt to rescue Herodotus'

[4] R. M. Macan, *Herodotus: The Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Books* (2 vols., London, 1908), II, lxxxii–lxxxiii, treats Herodotus somewhat more harshly than the others and suggests that he was not "just the right man" for military narrative. G. B. Grundy, *The Great Persian War* (London, 1901), 291; Amédée Hauvette, *Hérodote, historien des guerres médiques* (Paris, 1894), 499–500; W. W. How and Joseph Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1912), I, 45, II, Appendix XXI, 378–79; W. W. How, "Arms, Tactics and Strategy in the Persian War," *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* XLIII (1923), 128; Joseph Wells, *Studies in Herodotus* (Oxford, Eng., 1923), 162–63; Johannes Kromayer and Georg Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Romer* (Munich, 1928), 10; T. R. Glover, *Herodotus* (Berkeley, Calif., 1924), 228–29; F. E. Adcock, *The Greek and Macedonian Art of War* (Berkeley, Calif., 1957), 99; A. R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* (New York, 1962), 4–5.

[5] Adcock, *Greek and Macedonian Art of War,* 99.

[6] John Myres, *Herodotus* (Oxford, Eng., 1953).

[7] N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Greece to 322* B. C. (Oxford, Eng., 1959), 219–53, accepts almost uncritically much that is in Herodotus; see also his article cited in note 11, below. W. K. Pritchett in a series of articles in the *American Journal of Archaeology,* cited elsewhere in these notes, has reviewed Herodotean topography and pronounced favorably on it.

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reputation, but even he has gone astray.[8] He fruitlessly and unnecessarily suggests in an *argumentum ex silentio* that Herodotus may have had a military career. His major point, that Herodotus understood tactics rather well but not strategy, is inaccurate. His conclusion, despite his defense of Herodotus, is remarkably similar to the general consensus:

> An historian like Herodotus, dependent on the oral traditions of survivors and lacking a clear understanding of strategy, is likely to be more trustworthy in his descriptions of the movements of armies than in his attempts to explain them. If he says that an army moved from point A to point B he is probably right, but when he tries to give a reason for the movement he may easily be wrong. When he began to write, the generals and admirals who had taken part in the war were all dead, and though many of the survivors whom he met must have been of the officer class, they were not necessarily in the secrets of the high command.[9]

To most scholars Herodotus is a good source for the study of the Persian Wars because he tried diligently to arrive at the truth. They feel that it is possible for the modern military historian to read his history, make allowances for his ignorance of strategy and tactics, and find the clues to the proper reconstruction of the military aspects of the war that Herodotus himself had missed. Throughout there is an underlying assumption that the Greek and Persian generals of the early fifth century B.C. understood the strategic and tactical problems confronting them, and that Herodotus was the one who was confused.[10] By applying sound military analysis they have arrived at innumerable, conflicting reconstructions of battles, and few of them can agree even on the strategy followed by the Greeks in the course of the war.[11]

[8] Charles Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece* (Oxford, Eng., 1963), 37–39. Aubrey de Selincourt, *The World of Herodotus* (London, 1962), 264–79, is not entirely consistent in his assessment of Herodotus as a military historian; in most cases he follows the traditional point of view though his book is generally favorable to Herodotus.

[9] Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion*, 38.

[10] See, e.g., How and Wells, *Commentary*, II, 397, in a discussion of the Battle of Plataea: "In fine, while everyone would admit that H.'s ignorance of strategy and tactics has prevented him from understanding the plans and motives of the generals, and has made his account incomplete even as a record of fact, many would still deny that it is misleading."

[11] On the reconstructions of the Battle of Salamis, see, e.g., the following articles: J. B. Bury, "Aristides at Salamis," *Classical Review*, X (Nov. 1896), 414–18; N. G. L. Hammond, "The Battle of Salamis," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXXVI (1956), 32–54; Josef Keil, "Die Schlacht bei Salamis," *Hermes*, LXXIII (No. 3, 1938), 329–40; Jules Labarbe, "Chiffres et modes de répartition de la flotte grecque à l'Artemision et à Salamine," *Bulletin du correspondance hellénique*, LXXVI (No. 2, 1952), 384–441; Georg Loeschcke, "Ephoros-Studien, i: Die Schlacht bei Salamis," *Neue Jahrbücher*, CXV (No. 1, 1877), 25–32; W. K. Pritchett, "Towards a Restudy of the Battle of Salamis," *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXIII (No. 3, 1959), 251–62; and Adolph Wilhelm, "Zur Topographie der Schlacht bei Salamis," *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaft in Wien*, CCXI (No. 1, 1929), 3–39. The list of articles cited here is not exhaustive, and there are, in addition, several books. A similar list of works on Greek strategy could be compiled.

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Herodotus himself, however, was far from ignorant of strategy and tactics despite the naïveté that he shows in assigning a huge force to the Persians. "What has done more than anything else to ruin the credit of Herodotus as a military historian," writes Hignett, "is undoubtedly what Macan has called his 'arithmetical irresponsibility,' his absurd over-estimates for the land forces which accompanied Xerxes in his invasion of Greece."[12] Herodotus used the large numbers because they were part of the tradition about the war from a very early period[13] and because they suited the grandeur of his theme. The greater the Persian force, the greater was Xerxes' *hubris*. Herodotus' final figure—5,283,220—is nothing short of ridiculous (8.186).

It is important to note, however, that the large figure given by Herodotus does not reflect in any way on his understanding of strategy and tactics. To the modern military historian, who can actually and correctly conceive of an army as large as 5,000,000, a host of problems immediately appear, but it is unlikely that Herodotus or his contemporaries had any true conception of the magnitude of such a force. Some later military historians with relatively good knowledge of strategy and tactics and with personal military experience, Arrian for example, were prone to flirt with abnormally high figures.[14] It should be emphasized that Herodotus understood perfectly the basic point, that the Persian force was much larger than the Greek force and that this fact had major strategic and tactical repercussions (7.177).

Many passages in Herodotus' narrative indicate that he had an active and conscious understanding of strategy and tactics, and there are several cases where he applied this knowledge to reject or revise conceptions about the Persian War that were current in his day. He knew that tactical factors forced the Greeks to consider topography quite closely in their planning. On the whole an excellent topographer,[15] Herodotus combined his knowledge of topography and his understanding of strategy and tactics to good advantage. Rather than accept the story that the Greeks withdrew from

[12] Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion,* 39. The reference to Macan can be found in *Herodotus,* I, lxxxii.

[13] The poet Simonides in an inscription placed at the site of Thermopylae after the war said:

Here did four thousand men from Pelops' land
Against three hundred myriads bravely stand.

See Herodotus 7.228. Where my argument does not depend on technical terminology, all quotations are from the English translation by George Rawlinson in the Modern Library edition.

[14] Arrian *Anabasis,* 2.8.8; 3.8.6; Xenophon *Anabasis,* 1.7.12; see also Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion,* 351.

[15] Grundy, *Great Persian War,* 231; Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion,* 33; and esp. the articles by W. K. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataea," *American Journal of Archaeology,* LXI (No. 1, 1957), 9–28, "New Light on Thermopylae," *ibid.,* LXII (No. 2, 1958), 203–13, and "Xerxes Route over Mount Olympus," *ibid.,* LXV (No. 4, 1961), 369–75.

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Tempe because Alexander of Macedon warned them that the Persians were coming with superior numbers, he said:

> In my opinion what chiefly wrought on them was the fear that the Persians might enter by another pass whereof they now heard, which led from Upper Macedonia into Thessaly through the territory of the Perrhaebi, and by the town of Gonnus, the pass by which soon after the army of Xerxes actually made its entrance (7.173).

In addition, Herodotus pointed out that the Greeks chose their position at Thermopylae because there the Persians "could make no use of their vast numbers, nor of their cavalry . . ." (7.177).

In the speeches of Xerxes, Mardonius, and Artabanus (7.8–10) Herodotus gives a respectable analysis of the strategic problems that the Persians had to face during their invasion. Artabanus noted that it was necessary for the Greeks to defeat the Persians only on land or sea, not both, and that in any event it would be difficult for the Persians to solve their logistical problems (7.10; see also 7.49, 118–20).[16]

Herodotus fully realized the interdependence of the Persian army and fleet. That can be inferred from the passages cited in the above paragraph, but lest anyone claim that these prove only an unconscious awareness of this fact by Herodotus, I refer to the debate on strategy between Demaratus and Achaemenes after the Persian victory at Thermopylae. In this passage Achaemenes, the winner of the debate, said:

> But let us keep our whole fleet in one body, and it will be dangerous for them to venture on an attack, as they will certainly be no match for us then. Besides, while our sea and land forces advance together, the fleet and army can each help the other; but if they be parted, no aid will come either from you to the fleet, or from the fleet to you (7.236).[17]

If it is true that Herodotus wrote the speeches in his work solely to convey his own observations about the events he described, and this is generally agreed, then the speech of Achaemenes reflects Herodotus' own awareness of the interdependence of the Persian army and fleet.[18]

Again, by the use of a speech, Herodotus pointed out that the Persians adhered too rigorously to the principle of interdependence of army and fleet. Demaratus suggested that Xerxes detach some ships from his fleet to attack the Peloponnesus: "If once they have a war of their own close to their

[16] See How and Wells, *Commentary*, II, 148.

[17] Other passages that suggest but do not state the interdependence of army and fleet are Herodotus 7.49, 58.

[18] See Lieselotte Solmsen, "Speeches in Herodotus' Account of the Ionian Revolt," *American Journal of Philology*, LXIV (No. 3, 1943), 194–207, and "Speeches in Herodotus' Account of the Battle of Plataea," *Classical Philology*, XXXIX (No. 4, 1944), 241–53.

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doors, fear not their giving any help to the rest of the Greeks while your land-force is engaged in conquering them. In this way may all Greece be subdued; and then Sparta, left to herself, will be powerless" (7.235).[19]

Herodotus was also aware of the tactical problems that affected Greek strategy. He knew, as we can tell from a speech of Mardonius, that the Greek phalanx was designed for fighting another phalanx in an open plain (7.9). He also knew that the Persians could defeat the Greeks in a plain because of their superior numbers and cavalry and their use of the bow (7.177).[20] He therefore realized that the Greeks had to modify their way of fighting on land by defending passes such as Thermopylae where the Persian advantages would be minimized and in fact nullified. At close quarters and under proper conditions the Greeks were superior because they were better armed and better disciplined (7.211; 9.62–63).[21]

Herodotus' analysis of Greek strategy at Salamis, which is presented in the form of a speech by Themistocles at the council there, is quite accurate:

> With you it rests, Eurybiades, to save Greece, if you will only listen to me, and give the enemy battle here, rather than yield to the advice of those among us, who would have the fleet withdrawn to the Isthmus. Hear now, I beseech you, and judge between the two courses. At the Isthmus you will fight in an open sea, which is greatly to our disadvantage, since our ships are heavier and fewer in number than the enemy's. . . . The land and sea force of the Persians will advance together; and your retreat will but draw them towards the Peloponnese, and so bring all Greece into peril. If, on the other hand, you do as I advise, these are the advantages which you will secure; in the first place, as we shall fight in a narrow sea with few ships against many, if the war follows the common course, we shall gain a great victory: for to fight in a narrow space is favourable to us—in an open sea, to them. . . . Nay, that very point by which you set most store, is secured as much by this course as by the other; for whether we fight here or at the Isthmus, we shall equally give battle in defense of the Peloponnese. Assuredly you will not do wisely to draw the Persians upon that region. For if things turn out as I anticipate, and we beat them by sea, then we shall have kept your Isthmus free from the barbarians, and they will have advanced no further than Attica, but from thence have fled back in disorder . . ." (8.60).

This speech shows a fine understanding of strategy and tactics, especially for a historian who is considered to know nothing about such matters.

[19] Most moderns agree; see How and Wells, *Commentary*, II, Appendix XX, 369.

[20] For the bow, see A. E. Wardman, "Tactics and the Tradition of the Persian Wars," *Historia*, VIII (No. 1, 1959), 55: "Whatever the reputation, or inferiority, of Persia in the past, the might of Persia, for Herodotus, as for Aeschylus, is symbolized by the bow." See also How, "Arms, Tactics and Strategy," 119–22, and Adcock, *Greek and Macedonian Art of War*, 11–12.

[21] How, "Arms, Tactics and Strategy," 123–24: "On their side the Greeks must surely have realized the decisive advantages they possessed for fighting hand-to-hand in their longer spears and more complete panoply. These are the simple military lessons drawn from Thermopylae and Plataea by Herodotus."

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Herodotus understood the basic strategic and tactical factors of the Greek decision to fight at Salamis, but he did not believe that those factors were the chief cause of the decision. He thought that fear and local and political jealousies were more important (8.56–57). In fact he committed himself to the view that it was not the strategic and tactical soundness of the speech made by Themistocles that persuaded Eurybiades to defend Salamis, but rather Eurybiades' conviction that the Athenians would not sail to the isthmus to fight the Persians (8.63). In view of Spartan policy throughout the war, this certainly seems reasonable.[22]

Herodotus appreciated two basic tactical factors of Salamis. He knew that the Greek navy was inferior to the Persian navy on the open sea and needed a narrow battle area to be effective (8.60). He also knew that the Greeks backed water at the beginning of the battle to draw the Persians into a narrow and crowded position (8.84–85) and that they fought in better order and with less confusion (8.86).

What has been said up to now should establish that Herodotus was not ignorant of the principles of strategy. His analysis of Salamis is simply too sound to have been written by one as uninformed on strategy as most modern historians paint him. It remains, then, for us to look closely at his descriptions of two major campaigns, descriptions that have been vigorously attacked by modern historians: Thermopylae—Artemisium and Plataea. We should approach his accounts of these campaigns with an open mind, knowing that he was capable of understanding strategy and its importance in the course of the war. It should be remembered that his final verdict about the Greek victory, that Athens deserved most credit, has been generally praised. His statement, "For I cannot understand of what possible use the walls across the Isthmus could have been, if the King had had the mastery of the sea" (7.139), demonstrates that he was not only aware of the importance of the Persian navy, but that he also considered strategic factors to be of major importance in the war. This statement is especially significant for our purposes because it was written as an aside in the first person singular with the expressed knowledge that "most men" (non-Athenians?) would dislike it.

Nevertheless, many modern historians, unable to escape their conviction that Herodotus was ignorant of strategy, have refused to accept his account of Thermopylae-Artemisium.[23] There are definitely some difficulties in his

[22] Sparta, apparently, always wanted to defend the isthmus; it could then avoid sending its army so far away from its Helots.

[23] To the items listed in note 4, above, add: Hans Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst* (7 vols., Berlin, 1920), I, 74–87, and A. B. Daskalakis, *Problèmes historiques autour de la bataille des Thermopyles* (Paris, 1962).

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treatment of this battle, and if we approach it from the current point of view and assume Herodotean "ignorance," then it would be much easier, even sounder, to reject it altogether.

The difficulty is that Herodotus treats Thermopylae and Artemisium as though they had equal importance. He realized the close cooperation between the Greek army and fleet and knew that if one was defeated, the other had to retreat (8.21); he noted that the two battles were fought on the same days and that there was a communications system between the army and fleet. The general impression left by him is that the Greek forces were sent to win defensive victories on both land and sea. His introduction to the Battle of Artemisium confirms this impression: "Now it happened that these sea-fights took place on the very same days with the combats at Thermopylae; and as the aim of the struggle was in the one case to maintain the pass, so in the other it was to defend the Euripus" (8.15). Modern historians claim that was not the case, and with good reason. Certainly no general or group of generals today would try to fight a holding action on both land and sea under the same circumstances. What the Greeks should have done is obvious. They were greatly outnumbered on land and presumably could not hope to win the war with their armies, but on the sea the odds, though still not good, were more nearly equal. If the Persian navy could be enticed into narrow waters where its lighter and faster ships could not maneuver to outflank them, then the Greeks might have a chance. Certainly the large Persian army could not exist without the supplies brought by the navy; the defeat of the Persian navy meant the virtual defeat of the Persian army.

Since all this seems so clear, Herodotus has been rejected even by those historians who have a sympathetic compassion for him.[24] It is easy to find a host of little errors in his account to "confirm" the presence of a big one. His story about Leonidas and the oracle can obviously be approached with some skepticism (7.220).[25] He attributed Xerxes' four-day delay at the beginning of the battle to an expectation that the Greeks would run away; actually Xerxes was probably waiting for his fleet to move into position.[26]

Then there is the known fact that the land force sent by the Greeks to

[24] See, e.g., Grundy, *Great Persian War,* and Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion.* A notable exception is Hugh Last, "Thermopylae," *Classical Review,* LVII (Sept. 1943), 63–66, a brief but good account.

[25] See Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion,* Appendix IV, 371–78, who concludes, probably rightly, that because Herodotus accepted the story of the oracle we shall never know why Leonidas sacrificed so many men. See also How and Wells, *Commentary,* II, Appendix XX, 376–77. For two recent attempts to explain Leonidas' motives, see J. R. Grant, "Leonidas' Last Stand," *Phoenix,* XV (No. 1, 1961), 14–27, and J. A. S. Evans, "The 'Final Problem' at Thermopylae," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies,* V (No. 4, 1964), 231–37.

[26] Grundy, *Great Persian War,* 296–97.

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defend the pass was not very large.[27] Why should the Greeks have sent a large land force when they expected the real action to take place on the sea? Most scholars have supposed that the Spartans did not even intend to keep their promise to send reinforcements to Thermopylae.[28] All in all, it is easier to reject Herodotus entirely for the much more sensible view that the Greeks sought to hold the Persian army in the pass, and, since the fleet was tied to the army, force the Persian navy to give battle in the waters off Artemisium, which suited the Greek ships.[29]

But is this view necessarily correct? I should like to suggest, only tentatively in this paper, that Herodotus' presentation may be historical. I admit that it does not make good military sense for the Greeks to have attempted merely a defensive, holding action at both Thermopylae and Artemisium. If they did this, they were certainly doomed to failure from the beginning.[30] Is it proper for us, however, to assume that the Greek generals realized this? We must remember that we are dealing with archaic Greece.

In the early fifth century Greek generals, except for the Spartans, were not professional soldiers; they were politicians.[31] Their training in military science was elementary, and, for that matter, the hoplite phalanx demanded no more than a superficial appreciation of strategy and tactics.[32] In the Persian Wars the southern Greeks (most of the northern Greeks supported the Persians) faced for the first time an altogether different war machine, and it is improper for us to assume that they responded immediately and accurately to the new strategic and tactical problems that it posed.

What seems to me to be of crucial significance is that the only truly professional generals in Greece, the Spartan leaders, seemed always to prefer a stand behind the walls of the isthmus, a maneuver that assuredly would have been suicidal, as Herodotus pointed out, if the Persians had been in command of the sea (7.139). Perhaps the proper conclusion is that the Greek generals were ignorant of strategy and tactics rather than Herodotus. Those who see Themistocles as the true hero of the war unconsciously affirm this point of view: he was a democratic politician, without firm military biases, and able to see, when the professionals could not, that the new mili-

[27] Probably four thousand men; see Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion,* 116–17, and note 13, above.
[28] See Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion,* 122–27.
[29] Perhaps the best statement of this view is J. A. R. Munro, "Xerxes' Invasion of Greece," *Cambridge Ancient History* (12 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1926), IV, 268–316.
[30] At least according to Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst,* I, 75–76.
[31] Victor Ehrenberg, *The Greek State* (New York, 1964), shows that even Spartan generals were politicians.
[32] See Anthony Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* (New York, 1963), 31–38, and Adcock, *Greek and Macedonian Art of War,* 6–7.

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tary situation called for bold new strategy.[33] Perhaps it is possible that most Greek generals felt that, if the Persians could just be stopped for awhile, they would go away. The art, the early works of Aeschylus, and the *History* of Herodotus confirm that it was a naïve age.

The Battle of Plataea and its antecedents have also caused many scholars much concern.[34] After their defeat at Salamis the Persians had to decide what to do next. The Greek fleet did not pursue the Persian, and there was no Greek army to force a decision in Attica. Since the Greeks had gained control of the sea, or at least of the western Aegean, the large Persian land force could no longer be supplied. According to Herodotus, Xerxes decided to return to Asia with most of his army and his entire fleet and to leave his general, Mardonius, in Greece with a force of 300,000 men (a figure that is much too high).[35] Hignett charges that Herodotus did not understand the "paramount importance of naval supremacy in the war" and that he therefore made "no serious attempt" to account for the withdrawal of the Persian fleet from the western Aegean.[36] This is simply not the case; the fleet withdrew because it had been badly beaten, which Herodotus clearly indicated (8.97, 130). It was really the Greeks, not Herodotus, who failed to see the importance of naval supremacy. We must not forget that in the spring of 479 they mustered only 110 ships at Aegina (8.131), and those are Herodotus' figures. Are they also exaggerated?

Mardonius agreed to stay in mainland Greece without the support of the fleet, telling Xerxes: "Our hopes hang not altogether on the fate of a few planks, but on our brave steeds and horsemen" (8.100).[37] The Persian general concentrated his efforts on breaking the alliance between Athens and Sparta (8.136–144; 9.1–4). The Athenian strategists wanted a Greek drive against the Persians in Boeotia (8.144) while the Spartans still favored

[33] For an interesting discussion, see Chester G. Starr, "Why Did the Greeks Defeat the Persians?" *La Parola del Passato,* LXXXVI (1962), 321–32.

[34] See the detailed monograph by Henry B. Wright, *The Campaign of Plataea* (New Haven, Conn., 1904), 9, who suggests that the modern scholar cannot accept the Herodotean account "as the starting point or even the framework of his discussion of the campaign." The way to begin properly, according to Wright, is "to state clearly some general features of the battle which may be regarded as established by primary evidence and *military science* [italics mine]." See his annotated bibliography (*ibid.,* Appendix B, 144–48) which is good up to 1904. For more modern works, see the items in note 4, above, and the bibliography and notes in Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion.*

[35] It is ordinarily assumed, for no particularly good reason, that Mardonius commanded fifty thousand to sixty thousand men after the withdrawal of Xerxes. Hignett (*ibid.,* 354–55), cites the pertinent works and explains the basic reasoning.

[36] *Ibid.,* 245.

[37] Grundy, *Great Persian War,* 410–11, claimed: "It must remain a matter of grave doubt whether Mardonius ever gave such advice." Why? The Persian fleet had been defeated; there was no reason to expose it to annihilation. And it was not necessary for the reduced Persian army which could draw supplies from central and northern Greece.

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a stand behind the walls of the isthmus (9.8). Sparta did not relent until Athens threatened to defect to the enemy side (9.9). All this is reasonably clear from Herodotus, but some reject it on the grounds that he did not know what he was talking about when he dealt with such matters.[38] We have seen that there is no reason to assume this, and there is also no reason in this case to reject what Herodotus told us.

When the Spartans did move beyond the isthmus, Mardonius withdrew his force from Attica where it was harrying Athens. Herodotus' explanation of the Persian retreat was clear, precise, and military:

> His reason for retreating was, that Attica was not a country where horse could act with advantage; and further, that if he suffered defeat in a battle, no way of escape was open to him, except through defiles, where a handful of troops might stop all his army. So he determined to withdraw to Thebes, and give the Greeks battle in the neighborhood of a friendly city, and on ground well suited for cavalry (9.13).

There is no reason to reject Herodotus up to this point. But now a difficulty arises; Herodotus said that Mardonius, as he was retreating, heard that one thousand Lacedaemonians had been sent as an advance guard to Megara, and so he turned his army around, sent out an advance cavalry detachment, and headed for the Megarid to destroy this group. But, when he was informed that the Greeks were now present in force at the isthmus, he changed his mind and returned to his retreat (9.14, 15). For some reason this story has been regarded as "unlikely."[39] It is, however, no more unlikely than the alternative explanations of modern scholars, including Grundy's view that the raid was "a cavalry reconnaissance, whose object was to discover what the Greeks were doing at the Isthmus. . . ."[40] Did the Persians really have any doubts about what the Greeks were doing at the isthmus? In any case, Mardonius hardly needed to send a cavalry force; the Argives who were hostile to Sparta could certainly have told him all he wanted to know (9.12).

A detailed analysis of the Battle of Plataea itself is far beyond the scope of this paper. It is important, however, to note two facts: Herodotus' account is generally clear; and he showed many signs of understanding the tactical

[38] Many reputable scholars feel that the Spartans did not oppose this strategy. (See Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion*, 279–85.)

[39] *Ibid.*, 291: "The motive given for his dash towards Megara, that he wished to capture the advance guard before the main army came up, is unconvincing; . . . It is unlikely that he turned back with the main body of his army after he had already begun the evacuation of Attica, but the raid of his cavalry into the Megarid, which marks the furthest penetration into Greece by the Persian land forces, is confirmed by Pausanias." (See also Pausanias 1.40, 44.)

[40] Grundy, *Great Persian War*, 448–49.

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factors of the battle.[41] He knew how the armies were aligned (9.28–32). He was aware that the Persians had control of the plain because of their cavalry (9.20–21) and that both sides occupied basically defensive positions (9.36–37). He realized that the Persians used their cavalry to harass the Greek line of supply (9.39–40), but that they were unable to cut off the influx of reinforcements streaming into the Greek camp and were therefore forced to abandon their defensive position to force an engagement (9.41). The value of the Persian mounted archer was emphasized (9.49), but it was the well-equipped and well-trained Greek hoplite who won the day (9.62). Whether one agrees with the Herodotean account of the battle or not, it is unjustified to say that its author was ignorant of tactics and their importance.

My contention that Herodotus was able to appreciate strategic and tactical factors has serious implications, particularly in regard to his historical attitude. Those who have claimed that he did not understand strategy and tactics have developed elaborate rationalizations to save his reputation as a historian. They have said that he lacked personal experience in warfare and that his sources were not adequate. On the whole they have been inclined to forgive him for his mistakes. It is difficult for me, however, to rationalize his errors. Some of them he simply should not have made. He had the strategic and tactical knowledge necessary to ferret out the truth even from bad sources. To be sure, it would have been quite difficult for him to give an elaborate analysis of the tactics of the various battles—here the lack of sources might perhaps be important—although, as we shall see below, the lack of sources does not really account for his inadequacies. He could have told us more about the tactics of Salamis. On the whole his work is the product of a mind that was not keenly analytic.

He lived under the influence of two currents of thought: fifth-century rationalism and the epic tradition. At times these competed with each other, and, when they did, the epic tradition normally won. Because of this Herodotus was even less able to discuss tactics than he was to discuss strategy. He says little about the way battles were actually conducted, but he includes much about individuals who were particularly outstanding or notorious in one way or another.[42]

His purpose, however, was not to write a strategically and tactically accurate account of Xerxes' invasion. He stated quite clearly at the beginning of his work that it was written to prevent "the great and wonderful actions

[41] A good discussion of many problems concerning the Battle of Plataea is provided by Pritchett, "New Light on Plataea," who concludes: "Herodotus' contemporary with his text in hand would have had little difficulty in forming a clear picture of the whole battle."

[42] How and Wells, *Commentary*, I, 45.

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of the Greeks and the Barbarians from losing their due meed of glory" (1.1). He was not particularly concerned with some of the more technical aspects of warfare. They were not dramatic or glamorous enough. His primary concern was with the epic or Homeric conception of war.

Homeric influences have long been detected in Herodotus. Since antiquity critics have commented on the Homericism of his style.[43] There is, however, considerably more debate on the problem of Homer's influence on Herodotus' thought and on the development of his *History*.[44]

Lionel Pearson has pointed out that the age which gave birth to Herodotus was also the age in which epic gave way to history.[45] In the sixth century B.C. the Ionian epic was silenced by Persian or Greek tyrants while on the Greek mainland the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were canonized. They became so popular and in a sense so venerated in Greek tradition that no poet was willing to compete with them. Poets turned to elegy or lyric, and historians arose to write in prose what in a previous period would have been written in epic form.

The Homeric bards sang of the fame of men (κλέα ἀνδρῶν). Similarly Herodotus did not want the "great and marvellous deeds done by Greeks and foreigners" in the Persian War to be "fameless" (ἀκλεᾶ).[46] The purpose of Herodotus' history was very much like the purpose of the Homeric epic. In fact the influence of the epic tradition on Herodotus was so strong that at times it overpowered his knowledge and understanding of strategy and tactics and led him to write in prose the history of military events much the same way as the epic poet would have done in poetry.

The Battle of Thermopylae-Artemisium is a good example. In his account of Thermopylae Herodotus drew in bold lines the pictures of individuals. The proud Xerxes, the dutiful and obedient Leonidas, and other figures occupy the prominent places. Granting such treatment, there is no place for an abstract, analytic discussion of strategy and tactics. Battle plans, carefully conceived and well executed, reduce the importance of the individual and enhance the importance of the group working in unison. Herodotus men-

[43] See Longinus, *On the Sublime*, 12, who refers to Herodotus as "'Ομηρικώτατος." Felix Jacoby, *s.v.* "Herodotos," in *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1913), 491–92, cautions that the Homeric influence on Herodotus can be overestimated, but admits that it is strong on his style. See also Mario Untersteiner, *La Lingua di Erodoto* (Naples, 1948), 1–2.

[44] Jacoby, "Herodotus." For the other side of the argument, see Wolf Aly, *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seinen Zeitgenossen* (Göttingen, 1921), 266–67.

[45] Lionel Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford, Eng., 1939), 14–15; see also Truesdell S. Brown, "Herodotus and His Profession," *American Historical Review*, LIX (July 1954), 838–39, who argues against Pearson's explanation, accepted here, for the decline of Greek epic.

[46] Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, 15.

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tioned and was therefore aware of the feinting tactics employed by the Greeks at Thermopylae (7.211), and he also realized the tactical advantage the Greeks acquired because of their position and the nature of their weapons. These received only passing mention, however, because they were not compatible with the epic conception of warfare.

Heinrich Stein and W. W. Tarn have shown that Herodotus' account of Artemisium is very strongly influenced by the *Iliad* of Homer.[47] In the *Iliad* (14.34) when the Greek fleet came up on a beach too narrow for it, it was drawn ashore in a special arrangement, and a wall was built to protect it from the Trojans. In Herodotus (7.188–95) under similar circumstances the Persian fleet anchors (an impossibility) in the same arrangement, and, since Homer had a wall, the Persians built a wall. It is indeed quite strange because the Greeks who would have been on the other side of this wall were Persian allies![48]

It has been my purpose in this paper to prove that Herodotus was not ignorant of strategy and tactics and that the influence of the epic tradition prevented him at times from employing his military knowledge. These points, if sufficiently demonstrated, have a historiographical value. Herodotus is the "Father of History," a title that he certainly deserves despite his errors. But at the same time he was not a piercing rationalist like Thucydides. On the whole he was as skeptical as Thucydides. Thucydides rationalized mythology and tried to make history of it;[49] Herodotus never fell into this error.[50] In Thucydides an extreme form of rationalism, a form that generally succeeded in taking all emotionalism out of history, is the chief characteristic, whereas in Herodotus the dominant feature is the influence of the epic tradition. It was not a healthy influence. Herodotus was not ignorant of strategy and tactics, and, if he had applied his knowledge, he would not have made so many mistakes. Wherever he did apply it, as in his discussion of strategy before the Battle of Salamis, his account is impeccable.

[47] *Herodotos,* ed. Heinrich Stein (5 vols., Berlin, 1889), IV, 181; W. W. Tarn, "The Fleet of Xerxes," *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* XXVIII (1908), 214–15. W. K. Pritchett, "Xerxes' Fleet at the 'Ovens,'" *American Journal of Archaeology,* LXVII (No. 1, 1963), 5, disputes Tarn's arguments on the basis of modern parallels that I do not find convincing.

[48] *Herodotos,* ed. Stein, IV, 181: "Die ganze Stelle ist unter dem Vorbilde von *Il.,* Ξ 33 ff. geschrieben." See also How and Wells, *Commentary,* II, 214.

[49] The case in point is, of course, Thucydides' so-called "Archaeology." John Finley, *Thucydides* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963), 85, n. 15, refers to what he calls Thucydides' "interesting use of the Homeric poems purely as historical documents." He cites the pertinent passages in the same note.

[50] For Herodotus' famous expressions of skepticism, see 2.123; 4.195; esp. 7.152.

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★ ★ ★ ★ *Reviews of Books* ★ ★ ★ ★

General

VENICE AND HISTORY: THE COLLECTED PAPERS OF FREDERIC C. LANE. Edited by a committee of colleagues and former students. Foreword by *Fernand Braudel.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1966. Pp. xxi, 560. $10.00.)

It has been the fashion to honor scholars by inviting colleagues and former students to contribute articles to a *Festschrift.* More often than not, *Festschriften* become receptacles for heterogeneous material of uneven quality. The admirers of Professor Lane have given him a more fitting tribute by presenting him with a collection of his own essays. This collection is the more useful since the essays were scattered in journals not always readily available except in larger university libraries. Some of them were even published in foreign languages, and I presume that what is labeled a translation from the French or the Italian really gives us the original English text as it came from Lane's pen.

Although the emphasis is on Venetian economic history, Lane's special field, the range covered by the essays extends from metrology to historiography and reflects the breadth of the author's scholarly interests. The quality is uniformly high, and there is not an essay that does not have a contribution to make or a point to prove. Sometimes Lane deals with a specific problem, such as the meaning of the word *muda* or the organization of the galley fleets, and his demonstration is so solid and sound that there is hardly any room for disagreement, and therefore the matter must be regarded as settled once and for all. Sometimes the issue is more controversial, and he fails to convince. But, whether one agrees or disagrees with his conclusions, his arguments are always cogent, his judgments balanced, and there can never be any question about his integrity. His presidential address on republicanism may be colored by his New England background, but it carries the weight of deep and sincere conviction.

As an economic historian, Lane is preoccupied with the methodological question of the applicability of economic theory to the solution of historical problems. I agree that no history can be written without an appeal to theory either explicit or implicit. How and to what extent is another matter. It would be rash to formulate any rigid rules. Much will depend on the talents, the insights, and the proclivities of the individual historian. Economic history, like any history, is a work of art, and Lane is among the best craftsmen.

Brooklyn College Raymond de Roover

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GESCHICHTE ALS WISSENSCHAFT: EINE EINFÜHRUNG. By *Theodor Schieder*. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1965. Pp. 228. DM 14.80.)

THIS clearly organized, comprehensive, and valuable paperback raises a number of methodological and conceptual questions that continue to trouble practicing historians whenever they reflect about the aims, presuppositions, and limits of the historian's enterprise. Professor Schieder seeks more to clarify the nature of these problems than to "solve" them in some final way. Perhaps these fascinating but obdurate intellectual problems connected with historical thought and procedures are not really solvable.

As the author admits, history as an inquiry has conceptual ties to philology, the cultural sciences, and even philosophy; its interests, moreover, sometimes converge on the "common land" belonging also to sociology and political science. Hence, the conceptual issues about history as science cannot be confined to history narrowly conceived. Schieder manages, in one or another of his chapters, to show a wide range of historians' attitudes toward the conceptual aspects of historical inquiry. His book is to a great extent a description and appraisal of the positions for which many great historians and social thinkers have made claims. Although he leans toward the *verstehen* view of history as being more than empirical science, he is clear in insisting that empirically adequate notions of research and method are always necessary as a basis for historians' generalizations.

His chapters discuss such issues as the object of historical inquiry, historical space and time, individuals and history, the expository forms of scientific history, structures and personalities in history, and possibilities and limits of comparative methods in historical science. These topics are usually treated against a modern historical background, with references to the positions of leading relevant thinkers from the seventeenth century to the present.

The author refers to an impressive literature in French, German, and English. He has read historians, sociologists, and some of the philosophers. His position on controversial issues is often in line with common-sense views and is not, philosophically, of the "Gung-ho!" continental "metaphysical" type often current today. His "Bibliography and Remarks" should aid any scholar interested in the ideas that haunt the empirical borderlands of historical inquiry. The author's judgments usually are, moreover, moderate, seeking to defend a sane conception of historical possibilities without, at the same time, arbitrarily cutting off the concern for conceptual treatment of historical terms.

The book should interest sociologists and historians of ideas as well as practicing historians who, like the late Charles Beard, are wont at times to reconsider what it is, after all, they think they are doing when they "do" history in a scientific manner.

San Jose State College WHITAKER T. DEININGER

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HISTORY AND TRUTH. By *Paul Ricoeur*. Translated, with an introduction, by *Charles A. Kelbley*. [Northwestern University Studies in Phenomenology and Existential Philosophy.] (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1965. Pp. xxiv, 333. $10.00.)

THIS title may seem misleading to the professional historian. Only four of the seventeen essays collected here deal directly with the problem of historical truth. The others approach broad problems of social and political ethics and the transformation of modern society from the standpoint of what Ricoeur, a professor of philosophy at the Sorbonne and an eminent phenomenologist, calls a philosophy of Christian personalism, although all the essays touch on the problem of the nature of history.

The essays are linked by the theme that all human existence is marked by an irreconcilable dichotomy, by the conflict between the abstract, anonymous, typical, impersonal, and rational on the one hand and the living, singular, subjective, and mythical on the other. Ricoeur treats both the crisis of modern civilization and the theory of historical knowledge in terms of this dichotomy. What he has to say about the crisis of civilization is interesting, but it has been said often before by critics of modern society. Ricoeur sharply contrasts culture and civilization. In the anonymous realm of civilization, of scientific knowledge, technology, and organization, mankind is one and progresses continuously in the accumulation of skills. But in the creative sphere of culture, rooted in the subconscious, there are many closed cultures, each following a cyclical course. Ricoeur worries about the threat of civilization to culture in the modern world, the transformation of a true community of "persons" into an anonymous society of "individuals," and the replacement of the heroic "values of conquest and creativity" by a bourgeois "consumer culture, universally identical and wholly anonymous." More unique is his discussion of historical relativism. He contrasts the "event-filled" history of the historian, which dissolves history into singular decisions, with the "structural history" of the sociologist and the philosopher of history à la Hegel. Both approaches destroy history as a living reality in which personal decisions and collective forces are inextricably interwoven. The historian is always confronted by meaning in history, but this meaning has to be found within the events themselves. The total meaning of history always remains "confused and entangled." The human subject is the object of history. This fact, Ricoeur observes, rules out the "false objectivity" that no longer recognizes men and human values but only structures, forces, and institutions. But, he warns, it also requires a subjectivity that is not "subjectivity adrift" but the subjectivity of the historian confronted by the reality of history.

State University of New York, Buffalo GEORG G. IGGERS

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RAPPORTS. Volume I, GRANDS THÈMES; Volume II, HISTOIRE DES CONTINENTS; Volume III, COMMISSIONS; Volume IV, MÉTHODOLOGIE ET HISTOIRE CONTEMPORAINE. [Comité International des Sciences Historiques. XII[e] Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Vienne, 29 août–5 septembre 1965.] (Horn: Verlag Ferdinand Berger & Söhne. [1965.] Pp. 573; 262; 206; 302.)

THE problems of reducing to print the proceedings of the International Congresses of the Historical Sciences, now firmly on a quinquennial basis, have apparently always been serious ones. It will no doubt be consoling to those of us who worry about the sheer quantity of historical materials that these four bulky volumes represent an actual reduction from the twelve that issued from the congress held at Rome in 1903. It is difficult enough for editors to know just what of actual papers read, recorded discussions, revised papers, and all the rest of the varied record should see print. At the recent congress in Vienna the plan was to have all communications presented in writing well in advance of the meetings, which would then consist solely of discussions. But the editors of these volumes, Messrs. Engel-Janosi and Mikoletzky, feel obliged to echo a familiar complaint. Though the papers were due at the end of October 1964, many arrived only in the following spring

> und manche-kamen gar nicht! Von den abgelieferten aber präsentierte sich ein nicht zu übersehende Anzahl in Form von Handschriften, die als Preisaufgaben für eine paläographische Prüfung bestimmt zu sein schienen.

For the professional historians and their students, however, the big problem is how to locate in such varied collections the materials of use to them. Eventually, no doubt, most really important work will appear in some form in the specialized professional journals. But for the generalist, for the teacher who wants to keep up with the times, for the unfortunate graduate student who wants in his particular search to leave no stone unturned (this fine cliché should not here be taken too literally)—for these there is no easy way. There are nearly one hundred separate articles in these volumes, some of them the work of teams of researchers. No general periodical could afford the space to review them properly, or indeed to list them in detail. Fortunately, that useful publication, *Historical Abstracts,* does give a complete table of contents for these volumes (XI [Dec. 1965], 296).

The communications published here are all in one or another of the major Western European languages: French, German, English, Italian, or Spanish. It is interesting but not surprising to note that English has by no means the preponderance it would now have in a corresponding record of the proceedings of a meeting of natural scientists. A hasty count finds thirty-six items in French, twenty-three in English, and twenty-two in German. Communications originally made in one of the Slavic tongues or in Magyar appear in a Western language, but apparently with no single policy for transliteration where necessary and no single bibliographical style. There is a vast amount of up-to-date bibliography in these volumes, but it has to be dug out of them. There are no indexes, but perhaps indexing would cost too much. Still, since UNESCO takes up some of the cost, an

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index and above all a systematical bibliographical listing might well be considered for future volumes of these reports.

The volumes belong on the shelves of any major library as a reference work. Very little of their contents will satisfy the enthusiastic worshiper at the shrine of Clio, a muse, though a courageous general reader leafing through them will find much to interest him. On the other hand, there is not much to justify the chronic complaint that historians do not know how to write. The writing is generally clear and competent, if not distinguished, and thanks to the conservative attitudes most of the contributors take toward the social sciences, quite free from technical jargon. The ardent supporter of closer relations with these sciences, or of comparative history, will not find much to his liking even in the fourth volume on *Méthodologie et histoire contemporaine.* Soviet contributions are not numerous, and they are safely Marxist in outlook. Three Moscow historians, M. V. Nechkina, V. T. Pashuto, and E. B. Chernyak, in an article in English on "Evolution of Historical Thought in the Middle of the xxth Century" do their best to be conciliatory. They deeply regret "subjectivism and agnosticism" in the field of historical methodology. Obviously the agnosticism they regret is not quite what T. H. Huxley meant when he coined, or at least popularized, the word in the 1870's.

In sum, here is a somewhat representative cross section of historical writing as done in our time by professional and for the most part academic historians. The editors in their brief introduction hopefully repeat Professor Fawtier's words in his presidential address before the Paris Congress in 1950: "nos successeurs feront mieux." At least we are still trying.

Harvard University CRANE BRINTON

A SHORT HISTORY OF WARFARE. By *David H. Zook, Jr.,* and *Robin Higham.* Foreword by *B. H. Liddell Hart.* (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1966. Pp. 500. $7.50.)

THE publisher's claim that this dreary little textbook is "the first general history of Western military experience that accords the subject of war the academic importance which . . . it merits" probably should not be allowed to prejudice the reader, but, as has been said in another context, it helps. The allusion may be to the authors' assertion that war has not merely influenced, but "has determined the course of civilization." This proposition is apparently derived from the logical fallacy that if *Y* (a major change in civilization) could not have happened without the prior occurrence of *X* (a war)—which, of course, is itself unprovable—then *X* "determined" *Y,* and never mind factors *A* through *W,* which also contributed to Y. The spread of Hellenic civilization following Alexander's conquests is cited to demonstrate this theory; the contrasting failure of the Mongol conquests to leave a comparable imprint on the civilizations of China, India, Western Asia, or Eastern Europe is ignored. The authors do have a theory about the "brutal" Mongols, however: that they "Mongolized" the Russians, who thereupon became "sinister" and in due course replaced the "attractive" Scandinavians as a European military power, placing Europe from then on under the constant threat of

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"Asiatic invasion." They also have convictions about the Byzantines, an "aged merchant people" interested in "buying security" and addicted to "unspeakable corruption and vice—fruits of luxury, comfort, and greed" which "gnawed out the moral and spiritual core of the Empire."

The book is indeed impressive for the sheer number of battles, campaigns, wars, and "Great Captains" crammed into its pages, unfortunately at the expense of continuity and integrated analysis. It is as though the authors had started with a three-volume manuscript and reduced it to one by uniformly compressing each topic, subtopic, and sub-subtopic into one-third the space. Warfare from the Greeks to Napoleon is covered in 120 pages, the nineteenth century in the next 100, and a leisurely 200 are devoted to the last 65 years. Within this framework American military history receives an emphasis difficult to reconcile with the book's title and pretensions, until the twentieth century when the perspective becomes global.

The writing is mostly lean but pedestrian, liberally splashed with puzzlers and gaucheries such as "0900 in the morning," "knight warfare," and "the Spanish solved the tactical riddle from sword methods to infantry firepower." It is perhaps unnecessary to add that the authors like the *Junkers* ("poor but proud and stern"), Alfred T. Mahan ("the only first-rate military thinker the U. S. produced"), and, of course, Douglas MacArthur ("possibly the wisest employer of the strategy of the indirect approach" and "probably the greatest genius of any theatre commander since Bonaparte"). They do not mention Gonsalvo de Córdoba, Eugene of Savoy, Guibert, Henry Upton, Dennis Hart Mahan, or the Hussite wars.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces RICHARD M. LEIGHTON

ORIENTALIA. By *Georg Schurhammer, S. I.* Edited with the assistance of *László Szilas, S. I.* Foreword by *M. Batllori, S. I.* [Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S. I., Volume XXI. Georg Schurhammer S. I., Gesammelte Studien, Herausgegeben zum 80. Geburtstag des Verfassers. Number 2.] (Rome: Institutum Historicum S. I.; Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos. 1963. Pp. lxiii, 815.)

VARIA. Volume I, ANHÄNGE. By *Georg Schurhammer, S. I.* Edited with the assistance of *László Szilas, S. I.* [Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S. I., Volume XXIII. Georg Schurhammer S. I., Gesammelte Studien, Herausgegeben zum 80. Geburtstag des Verfassers. Number 4.] (Rome: Institutum Historicum S. I.; Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos. 1965. Pp. xxiii, 780.)

THESE works contain collected writings of Father Schurhammer in commemoration of his eightieth birthday. They, along with the previously published volumes, constitute perhaps the most exhaustive collection of source materials and secondary writings dealing with the life of St. Francis Xavier (1506–1552), a member of the original Society of Jesus gathered by Ignatius Loyola. Their distinguished author and editor has published seventeen books devoted to the life and work of the saint. Of his books there are forty-eight translations in twenty-one

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languages. The articles comprising the first volume reviewed here are written in German, English, and Portuguese. After a general study of the Portuguese in India, the scene shifts to the Malabar Coast in southern India and deals with the conversion of the Pandavas or Bharatas. This section includes a chapter on the first printing in Indic characters and two interesting chapters on the Malabar Church's contacts with Rome. The story then passes on to northern India and Ormuz Island, and to Indonesia, including the mission work in the Moluccas. From India Francis Xavier went to Japan and China. The chapter on Japan includes a description of the ancient capital of Kyoto in Xavier's time, and of Kobo Daishi, the founder of the Shingon-shu Buddhist sect.

The first volume of *Varia* comprises supplemental articles of the widest diversity. The first section contains articles loosely connected with *Orientalia*. It is, of course, impossible to list all of them. Those chosen more or less at random comprise, for instance, a most interesting and even entertaining account of the author's search for Xaveriana in Lisbon in 1923. Another article deals with the first Jesuit martyr in India, Antonio Criminale. Another article describes a Brahman's conversion. Among the most interesting of the author's own recollections is the extensive description of his journey from Holland to southern India in 1908, entitled "Eine Ostindienreise." The next three sections are devoted to Xaveriana: two of the articles deal with Xavier's portraits and are illustrated with eight early portraits of the saint; another article reports on the architectural services Michelangelo rendered to the first Roman Jesuits. The rest of the book deals with Xavier's relics, his cult, and the American missions of the Jesuits, particularly in Alaska and among the Sioux of South Dakota. The work is illustrated by reproductions of numerous historical documents.

Claremont, California MATTHEW SPINKA

THE FOUNDING OF NEW SOCIETIES: STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, LATIN AMERICA, SOUTH AFRICA, CANADA, AND AUSTRALIA. By *Louis Hartz*. With contributions by *Kenneth D. McRae et al.* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1964. Pp. xi, 336. $6.50.)

THIS work explores the historical movement of what once was called the expansion of Europe. Like other modern scholars who have attempted to decode its meanings, the authors reject a rigid distinction between the history of Europe and the history of the Americas (and in some respects of Africa and Australia) as a "false distinction." Each is part of the other. Insights burgeon from coalescence in the comparative study of institutions, attitudes, and ideas.

The volume is introduced by sixty-two pages of theoretical analysis by Louis Hartz whose *The Liberal Tradition in America* presents a more elaborate discussion of some of its aspects. The remainder is composed of essays devoted to national histories buttressing the thesis. Hartz writes on the United States; Richard M. Morse on Latin America; Leonard M. Thompson on South Africa; Kenneth D. McRae on Canada; and Richard M. Rosecrance on Australia. Each is an examination in depth, a probing of discrete evolutions that reveal both difference

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and similarity. Greater incisiveness might have been achieved had the separate historical chapters preceded the theoretical ones.

Fragment is another name for cultural distinctiveness—the historical result of an exodus by a segment from its cultural matrix. The founding of new societies is a process in which parts, ripped from wholes, alter parent societies and their offspring alike. All this is familiar enough, but the present effort encompasses more. It seeks to examine the process within a cultural unity—Europe—and to define the elements of permanence and change. The concept of fragmentation becomes an instrument of historical analysis. Separation molds the stages of fragmentation as these stages and others are modulated by the developing European tradition and the flux of place, time, and social condition.

Infoldings and outfoldings of history abound. Feudal fragmentation, for example, in North America, Latin America, and Canada "has the longest reach . . . of all detachments from Europe." Without "real Whiggery" and "no Jacobinism," socialism of the European variety is uncongenial to those parts of the New World which predate the European Enlightenment. Fragments lose "the stimulus toward change that the whole provides," and yet they supply opportunity for the development of freedom; "by extricating the European ideologies from the European battle, by cutting short the process of renewal which keeps that battle going, they permit precisely that unfolding of potentialities which the Old World denies." But "there is a stifling of the future as well as an escape from the past," for the price of freedom to develop is a traditional nationalism; the outcome a failure of the parts to understand the European whole.

While the several essays offer fertile comparisons and the theoretical sections often enlighten, impertinent queries constantly interrupt the flow of argument. The particularity that governs the historical chapters of Europe's erstwhile colonies contrasts oddly with the absence of unifying hypotheses concerning Europe. A cultural unity, the unity of Europe, is presupposed. The correlative of the entire approach frequently seems to dissipate in assumption. Are the generalizations supporting the so-called European "ideology"—concepts fundamentally social and political—in fact the ruling concepts? Are these in truth the dominating symbols in which the drives of men are fused? We can accept selected elements in the evolution of society as relatively fixed; others are relatively malleable. Which are mutable; which permanent? Persistence without change is as valid a mechanism in social as in genetic evolution. But in society, as in genes, recombination dissolves fixities. Historians will not find persistence astounding, but they will wish to know under what specific conditions immutability endures. Historians will wish particularly to know how fixities persist without genuine isolation and what inhibits fertility in concrete instances.

Sarah Lawrence College BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG

TRAGEDY AND HOPE: A HISTORY OF THE WORLD IN OUR TIME. By *Carroll Quigley*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1966. Pp. xi, 1348. $12.50.)

THIS fascinating, impressive, and important analysis of the contemporary world

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—its historical origins, its present condition, and its prospects—begins with an interpretation of the evolution of civilization based on the author's earlier well-known work on this subject. He then examines in considerable detail the dynamics of world affairs on the eve of World War I. With this background, he develops a full-scale review of events from 1914 to 1964. There are many other studies of this half century, but Professor Quigley's is unique and invaluable because of his informed and consistent analysis of the intimate relationship between contemporary history and contemporary science-technology. A basic weakness of much modern scholarship has been its failure to recognize adequately this relationship. How unfortunate this is becomes apparent in this work with its mass of illuminating information and insights concerning the manifold repercussions of the development of weapons and of the rationalization of society by the application of game theory, information theory, cybernetics, symbolic logic, and electronic computing. These, and related techniques, are transforming not only nations but also the relations between nations. The author shows in convincing detail the decisive role of the wavering balance of nuclear weapons in the alternating thawing and freezing that has marked the cold war. Quigley also bears down heavily on economic development, tracing the evolution from commercial capitalism to industrial capitalism, finance capitalism, monopoly capitalism, and finally to what he calls the current pluralist economy. More important, he emphasizes throughout the political and social repercussions of this economic evolution, including the close relationship between the Great Depression and Hitler's triumph.

The over-all thesis of the book is that the nineteenth century was "a period of materialism, selfishness, false values, hypocrisy, and secret vices"; that the two world wars and the Great Depression were the terrible fruits of that century; and that the hope of the twentieth century "rests on its recognition that war and depression are man-made and needless." It is just as well that these propositions are recapitulated in the final pages, for the reader, likely as not, will have lost the line of reasoning by the time he has reached the end of this massive, rambling hulk of a book. The author obviously is a man of wide-ranging intellectual interests, but organization definitely is not his forte. He cannot resist going off on tangents that attract him, so that the reader continually encounters revealing data and interpretations of topics such as the historic significance of Britain's island position, the nature of the German national character, the implications of Hiroshima, and the problems of child rearing in the United States. The net result is a fascinating but also frequently confusing work that would be substantially shorter and more effective if it were properly reorganized and edited.

A final feature of this book is its refreshing candor. Quigley has definite views and expresses them forthrightly. Considering the vast range of his subjects, it is not surprising that statements that are extravagant or only partly true or even completely untrue can be found in virtually every chapter. But to concentrate on such statements and to ignore the overriding merits of this study would be grossly unfair and unfortunate. For the author does ask the important questions, and he does try to answer them honestly and meaningfully—which is why his book is more significant and challenging than most studies of our times.

Northwestern University L. S. Stavrianos

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MÉLANGES PIERRE RENOUVIN: ÉTUDES D'HISTOIRE DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Paris. Series "Études et Méthodes," Number 13.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1966. Pp. xxvii, 240. 20 fr.)

Pierre Renouvin is probably the most distinguished living French historian. He is the author of numerous books (mostly relating to the war of 1914–1918), innumerable articles and reviews, prefaces, notices, and every conceivable variety of historical writing (his bibliography runs to fourteen pages); his writing has always been distinguished by clarity, fairness, and an excellent literary style. His most famous book, *Les Origines immédiates de la Guerre* (1925), was so good that the Germans made little effort to criticize it. Renouvin also served as dean of the Sorbonne, is a member of the Institute and several foreign academies, and holds honorary degrees from various foreign universities. These honors testify to the regard in which he is held both at home and abroad. I have known him for more than forty years and always found him a delightful companion.

This volume contains no new writing by Renouvin, but the first of the nineteen essays, by J.-B. Duroselle, explains how Renouvin, in thirty years, proceeded from "histoire diplomatique" to "histoire des relations internationales." The other eighteen essays cover a long period from "Les conjonctures en Méditerranée au XVI^e siècle" to "La crise de Berlin en 1961." The article of most interest to Americans will probably be "Le 'fardeau' de l'histoire aux États-Unis," by Pierre Nora, an account of the manner in which American historians try to explain what has happened to their country. American scholarship is represented by an essay from Professor William Halperin on Italian policy in 1870. "The Anglo-French Union Project of 1940" provides new information on an obscure subject.

Festschriften are always difficult to review, but this seems to be an unusually good one.

University of Chicago Bernadotte E. Schmitt

DOCTRINES OF IMPERIALISM. By *A. P. Thornton*. [New Dimensions in History: Essays in Comparative History.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1965. Pp. ix, 246. Cloth $5.95, paper $2.95.)

In this attempt to bring the well-worn topic of imperialism up to date, Mr. Thornton is an expert phrasemaker, and many sentences could prove useful to teachers lecturing on the subject. The quotation on the dust cover, "Colonialism is only imperialism seen from below," is a good example. The author does not, moreover, have to rely on his own inventiveness. He has assembled what might be a new Bartlett on the subject, chosen skillfully as the result of wide reading. The index of names could serve a useful purpose to anyone who wishes to find out how foolish Cecil Rhodes, Lord Curzon, Treitschke, or Mussolini sound today.

There is a general plan for the book, the principal chapters being entitled "Doctrines of Power," "Doctrines of Profit," "Doctrines of Civilization"; while the conclusion implies that as the result of the outcome of the First World War, and the triumph of Marxism or liberalism throughout the world, all these doctrines were swept away. Incidentally I would like it more clearly stated that the

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demise of nineteenth-century imperialism was owing rather to the melting away of European navies and financial resources than to any sudden conversion of the mass of mankind to ideas of Hobson and Lenin. A more important omission, however, is a clear statement of what is or is not to be included in the discussion. In the first chapter the author explains that he cannot be bound by Professor Langer's restriction which limited his own treatment to the sphere of political domination, and in the light of the debates in the United Nations today this decision is fully vindicated. Economic imperialism and cultural imperialism are concepts that are with us to stay. On the other hand must the examples that the author is seeking be drawn from almost any struggle between European powers in which the word "empire" or "imperialism" was used?

To me, the great defect of the book is that the author leaps from crag to crag leaving the reader bewildered as to how he ever arrived where he is. Thus, in the chapter on the doctrines of civilization one moves from pronouncements on the moral justifications for dividing up Africa, in order to civilize the Africans, to quotations from Dante's *De Monarchia,* and a reference to the efforts of the British to justify their attack on Denmark in 1807. Just how the seizure of the Danish fleet and the opening of the Baltic to British shipping can be fitted into the rest of the story is far from clear. Infractions of international law during a mammoth struggle between the European powers are not, by definition, acts of imperialism.

By going so far afield the author has not only indulged in some dubious generalizations which he has no time to justify, but he has tossed in many facts which apparently he had no time to check. Thus we are told that "England's Black Prince Edward" in 1170, in Acre, criticized the Venetians for trading with the Muslims. But there was no English Edward in Acre in 1170, and the Prince Edward who may have been there in 1270 has never been known as the Black Prince. It is unfortunate that a well-written and amusing book that might be useful in teaching should be marred by carelessness and loose thinking.

Bryn Mawr College HELEN MANNING

A HISTORY OF JEWISH CRAFTS AND GUILDS. By *Mark Wischnitzer.* Foreword by *Salo W. Baron.* Introduction by *Werner J. Cahnman.* (New York: Jonathan David. 1965. Pp. xxvii, 324. $7.95.)

THIS posthumous work of Mark Wischnitzer, historian, editor, public servant, and professor of Jewish history and institutions until his death in 1955, is a fundamental and fascinating contribution, a pioneering penetration into one of the most obscure aspects of the economic history of the Jewish people.

With the foreword, a personal tribute by Salo W. Baron, the preface by his widow Rachel Wischnitzer, and the introduction by Werner J. Cahnman, the book unfolds the story of the Jewish artisans and guilds from antiquity until the late eighteenth century, using scattered references collected meticulously by the author from a great variety of multilingual sources, literal as well as archaeological.

In a clear and well-organized presentation the author deals with the various

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trades and crafts in which Jews were active, such as weavers, carpenters, tailors, dyers, potters, glass blowers, bookbinders, minters, metalcraft workers, gold- and silversmiths, printers, diamond cutters, and decorators.

Geographically the study encompasses the problems of Jewish artisans and guilds in ancient Israel and in Judaea and in the major centers of the Jewish Diaspora, in the Roman, the Sassanid, and the Byzantine Empires, in southern Italy, southern France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, and the Ottoman Empire. Particular attention has been given to the Jewish artisans and guilds in Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, and Lithuania from the early Middle Ages on, for which there exists a rich documentation. Unfortunately the author was not able to carry on his research to utilize the available references to Jewish artisans, crafts, and guilds pertaining to North Africa, the Middle East, and colonial America.

The material collected by Wischnitzer illuminates many hitherto unknown aspects, such as the internal structure of the Jewish guilds in the various countries of Europe, their charter, their insignia, their autonomy, especially in Spain, their class antagonism, their relationship with Christian guilds, and the control of the kehillah, the Jewish community organization of Eastern Europe, over them. Of particular interest is the social legislation in favor of the working man as reflected in rabbinical literature.

The importance of this work lies not only in the manifold data and facts that show the diverse and active engagement of Jews in manual labor, but in the very challenge to the hitherto held views of economic historians, defying the one-sided notion of Jewish concentration on commerce and trade alone in the various periods of the Jewish Diaspora. In light of the sources as unfolded by the author a clearer picture of the occupational stratification of the Jews and their image in the socioeconomic sphere throughout the ages emerges; it is, indeed, a mine of information that fills an essential gap in our knowledge.

University of California, Berkeley WALTER J. FISCHEL

BAROCKE JUDEN—CHRISTEN—JUDENCHRISTEN. By *Hans-Joachim Schoeps*. (Bern: Francke Verlag. 1965. Pp. 123.)

THIS supplement to the author's earlier book, *Philosemitismus im Barock*, portrays "devious and queer matters" as well as characters and problems important for a better understanding of the religious and intellectual history of this period. The author deals with the changed attitudes toward Judaism and focuses attention on the Jewish messianic movements during the baroque era. In the seventeenth century, for the first time, Christian opinion in favor of the Jews made itself heard freely. The author enumerates five types of philo-Semitism that have been in existence since the days of antiquity: the Christian-missionary type; the Biblical-chiliastic type for whom the conversion of the Jews to Christianity assumes even greater urgency; the utilitarian type who advocates the settlement of the Jews in a country because of certain benefits that would accrue to it; the liberal humanitarian type who is out to prove his belief in the equality of all men; the religious type who feels attracted to Judaism for reasons of faith and even converts to it formally.

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The author confines his investigation to the period 1640–1720 in which all these types occur, with special attention given to the second and the fifth types.

One of the main motives of both Christian philo-Semitism and Jewish chiliasm was the myth of the lost Ten Tribes of Israel. English identification with the Ten Tribes was one of the forces that motivated Cromwell to accede to Manasseh ben Israel's request for the readmission of Jews to England. Cromwell also intended, moreover, to use the Jewish merchants against Dutch commercial preponderance. Isaac de la Peyrère, French hero and patriot, a Calvinist by birth who later converted to Catholicism, was a Zionist three centuries prior to the establishment of the state of Israel. In his *Du Rappel des Juifs* he demanded that the king of France lead the Jewish people back to the Promised Land. He was, like Rembrandt, Pascal, and Hugo Grotius, a philo-Semite and, in Schoeps's view, of marrano descent. Paul Folgenhauer was reared in the pietistic spirit of the Bohemian Brethren. The Thirty Years' War, the revolt of the Cossacks in Poland (1648–1649) with the attendant massacre of entire Jewish communities, the English Revolution which occurred at the same time, and the Turkish onslaught on Vienna in 1653 were in Folgenhauer's way of thinking forebodings of the last days of mankind. He expected the millennium to begin in his lifetime and advocated the return to primitive forms of early Christianity.

Anders Pedersson Kempe, Swedish translator of Folgenhauer's *Perspicillum Bellicum,* opposed organized religion, viewing Constantine the Great as the chief culprit. Oliger Paulli, a Dane who wrote Dutch, self-styled apostle of the Jews, demanded that the European potentates conquer the Holy Land and establish a Jewish state in which he would govern as precursor and representative of the Messiah. Johann Peter Spaeth (1644–1701), Catholic-born, converted to Judaism in 1697 and adopted the name Moses Germanus. Two central figures of Jewish history are also included: Sabbatai Zebi and Manasseh ben Israel. Their treatment is necessarily sketchy. There is a bibliography, but no scholarly apparatus. The book is well written.

Texas Christian University HARRY L. POPPERS

POLITIKA EVROPEISKIKH DERZHAV V IUGO-VOSTOCHNOI AZII (60-E GODY XVIII–60-E GODY XIX V.): DOKUMENTY I MATERIALY [Policies of the European Powers in Southeast Asia from the 1760's to the 1860's: Documents and Materials]. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoi Literatury. 1962. Pp. 653.)

THESE documents consist primarily of letters and reports furnished to the Imperial Russian government by its representatives abroad. Also included are some documents of other European governments and pamphlets and extracts from the foreign press. All this material is concerned with the colonial operations of the European powers, or with trade arrangements for Southeast Asia.

The documents are arranged in chapters to focus on the following episodes or periods: rivalry of the powers in Indonesia, 1763–1764 and 1802–1810; Dutch policies in Indonesia, 1814–1829 and 1833–1869; interests of Spain, Britain, France,

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the Netherlands, and Russia in the Philippines, 1763–1797 and 1803–1834; and documents bearing on the British moves toward acquisition of Burma, 1800–1853.

The editors explain that the isolationism of Siam and Indochina accounts for the almost complete omission of materials pertaining to those countries. Also, Europe's own quarrels of the Napoleonic period help to explain the dearth of useful Russian documents on early French efforts to gain influence in Indochina.

The text is carefully prepared, preceded by nineteen pages of introduction and clarified by twenty-seven pages of footnotes. A large portion of the documents appear in their original French text, and for some the Spanish version is given, followed usually by the Russian translation. Because this is useful, even unique, source material, scholars outside the USSR who do not read Russian will welcome this frequent bilingual feature. Such scholars will find the text awkward for their use, however, in that the table of contents is in Russian only. The same is true of the excellent descriptive indexes of personal and geographical references.

The value of this collection goes far beyond Russian interests in the Southeast Asia of 1760–1860. The officials and diplomats who prepared the original documents were, by and large, astute observers and commentators. From their vantage points in London and other great European capitals, these persons were able to prepare reports that add notably to the resources of the historian.

Colorado College FRANK H. TUCKER

NEFTIANIYE TRESTY I MIROVAIA POLITIKA 1880–E GODY–1918 G. [The Oil Trusts and World Politics from the 1880's to 1918]. By *A. A. Fursenko*. [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Leningradskoe Otdelenie Instituta Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1965. Pp. 495.)

SOME of the best recent scholarship in the Soviet Union has been devoted to the study of Russian economic development and government economic policy in the last three or four decades of the tsarist regime. The work of M. Ia. Gefter and I. F. Gindin is broadened by the research of a younger generation of scholars who lately have turned their attention to the role of the monopolies, a subject that seemed to promise a creative fusion of Marxist-Leninist analysis with high-quality scholarship. The results thus far include two impressive source collections, one on *Monopoly Capitalism in the Oil Industry* (1961), the other on *Monopoly in the Metallurgical Industry* (1963); a volume of *Documents on the History of Monopoly Capitalism* (1959); and a considerable number of monographs and articles. While Soviet scholars have perhaps not yet come to grips with the central problems confronting tsarist economic policy, their investigations of the monopolies have begun to test the Marxist-Leninist ideological heritage against the historical evidence.

Among the younger generation of scholars in this field, Alexander A. Fursenko is the most productive and versatile. His latest and most substantial work gives a well-documented Soviet view of the global competition of the big oil companies up to the First World War. It retells from the standard Western accounts the story of the Rockefellers, Deterdings, D'Arcys, the great banking houses with oil interests, and their varying relationships with each other and with

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the governments chiefly concerned. By far the best part of the book—and the most solidly researched—is devoted to the Russian oil industry, its development, its leading firms, its ties to various government agencies and to foreign capital, and its shifting place in the world market. The author has delved deeply into the major archives in Leningrad and Moscow and lesser ones at Baku, Batum, Tiflis, and even Bucharest; he also used the published records of British and American consuls (not to mention the conventional diplomatic documents).

Needless to say, the author makes the most of his opportunities when discussing Rockefeller, the robber baron; he also soundly berates the American "apologists" of monopoly capitalism and their organ, *Business History*. He ignores, in short, that part of Lenin's teaching which emphasizes the fact that these monopolies prepared the large-scale organization and rationality of management necessary for the advance to socialism. Like Lenin he uses the term "monopoly" far too loosely; certainly none of the big Russian oil firms, as he himself shows, ever came anywhere near monopolistic control. Nor does he analyze the "objective" factors that favored bigness in the oil industry. Yet a fascinating picture of the complexities of global oil politics emerges from his account. While the author traces the close relations between the oil trusts and government authorities, he fully recognizes the independent force of political considerations. Sometimes the "monopolists" influenced government policy, and sometimes they were influenced in turn; never in this account did the statesmen become their puppets. The author also shows that the "monopolists" themselves were trapped by the "contradictions" of monopoly capitalism: in part their interests made them patriotic, in part cosmopolitan. The author's research appears to discredit any tendency to relate the competition of the oil trusts to the line-up of the powers during the war. Nor is there any proof offered for the author's contention that the feverish commercial competition contributed at least indirectly to the sense of crisis that grew out of the political competition, though this may indeed have been the case.

This book should be closely studied by all students of global oil politics before 1914 and particularly by the specialists in Russian economic history, even though the reading is hard and sometimes dull. When will Soviet historians begin to match their scholarship with appropriate literary skills?

Washington University THEODORE H. VON LAUE

GREAT BRITAIN AND UNITED STATES EXPANSION: 1898–1900. By *R. G. Neale*. ([East Lansing:] Michigan State University Press. 1966. Pp. xxii, 230. $6.00.)

RECENTLY Anglo-American relations around the time of the Spanish-American War have been examined rather minutely by several writers, and R. G. Neale now adds a good measure of new detail. His book, almost exclusively a study of diplomacy, is based on British Foreign Office documents in the Public Record Office and on the Salisbury Papers in Oxford. He does not seem to have investigated American manuscript collections.

Neale points out clearly and convincingly that the extent to which the Spanish-

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American War was a watershed leading to better relations between Britain and America can be and has been exaggerated. Although the war did lead to more friendly transatlantic feelings, "in no case was 'friendship' an element weighed against national interest and valued as such in the diplomatic bargaining during and immediately following the Spanish-American War." The hardheaded American negotiators, quite unmoved by sentimental hands across the sea feelings, took advantage of Britain's international difficulties and forced it to yield over most disputed matters. Similarly, Neale demonstrates that "Anglo-American friendship was entirely inadequate as a basis for cooperative diplomatic action in the Far East." These are indisputable conclusions, and one can take exception only to Neale's apparent belief that they have not been published before.

The same observation can be made about other points. For example, Sir Julian Pauncefote's somewhat anti-American position in the mediation move of mid-April 1898 has, it is true, been overlooked by some writers, but it is an exaggeration to characterize this attitude as "previously neglected"; nor is it necessary to devote several pages to showing that Alfred E. Hippisley was not a secret agent of the British government when he helped formulate the Open Door notes of 1899—a fact that is now well known, as Neale of course realizes.

Having discarded the Spanish-American War as the watershed, Neale believes that "the rapprochement began in 1896 over the Venezuelan affair. . . ." Is not the truth of the matter that the rapprochement was not the dramatic result of any one event but a slow process developing over many years and attributable to a great variety of factors? If any one period is to be selected, that of the Washington conference and Geneva arbitration of 1871–1872 is more significant than either 1896 or 1898.

Although Neale's major interpretations are not new, his book is a useful contribution because of its wealth of previously unpublished detail and because it completely demolishes the notion that the wartime friendship, of itself, produced a diplomatic settlement and a cooperative Far Eastern policy. The book is useful, too, because it has new and most interesting information about Lord Charles Beresford, which shows that London's interest in his Far Eastern trip had nothing to do with the Open Door in China.

Claremont Graduate School CHARLES S. CAMPBELL, JR.

THE VICTORS IN WORLD WAR I AND FINLAND: FINLAND'S RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND UNITED STATES GOVERNMENTS IN 1918–1919. By *Juhani Paasivirta*. Translated from the Finnish by *Paul Sjöblom*. [Studia Historica, Number 7.] (Helsinki: [Finnish Historical Society.] 1965. Pp. 198. $4.50.)

NOT least among those joining the great diplomatic pilgrimage to Paris at the end of World War I were the Finns. Like Poles, Czechs, and other delegations of the Succession States, the representatives from Finland sought recognition, food, and frontiers—though not necessarily always in that order. As Juhani Paasivirta makes clear in this work, however, Holsti, Mannerheim, Enckell, and the other Finns who undertook this mission labored under unique handicaps. Having

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achieved independence in 1917, the new republic had been thrown into the arms of Imperial Germany as a counterweight to Red Russia. Unhappily for the Finns, this association clung to them after the armistice like the stain on Lady Macbeth's hand and fatefully postponed Allied recognition. Ultimately, the haunting specter in Western capitals of Bolshevism enabled the Finns to exchange their earlier image of Kaiser's ally for one of anti-Leninist bastion. But even then British hopes for a White Russian success blocked endorsement of Finnish aspirations in east Karelia and thereby contributed to the eventual Soviet victory there.

Originally published in Finnish by the *Suomen Historiallinen Seura,* this work is a complicated fabric of many threads, but the author produces a substantial, adequately woven, if not brilliantly colored, cloth. Paasivirta, who has published several earlier works on this period, has mobilized a variety of unpublished sources found as far from Helsinki as London, Washington, and New York. Commendably, he has appended a brief survey of these. In view, however, of the relatively scanty references to Finland in the British, French, and American sources (a major exception are the proceedings of the Baltic Commission of the Paris Peace Conference), the Finnish Foreign Ministry and State Archives inevitably have proved most fruitful. The data have been judiciously and objectively used and yield particularly informative sections on the struggle for Allied recognition, support in the Åland controversy, and agreement on the extremely complex question of intervention in Russia. Although the lengths of the chapters are somewhat disconcerting in their variability—one is of only four pages—the organization is firm. As a study of Finland's foreign policy from 1917 to 1920 in the context of relations with the Atlantic Powers, this is a fresh and welcome addition to the literature.

Pennsylvania State University KENT FORSTER

BRITAIN, CHINA, AND THE ANTIMISSIONARY RIOTS, 1891–1900. By *Edmund S. Wehrle.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 223. $5.50.)

THE last decade of the nineteenth century was a critical time for the British policy of "informal empire" in China. Britain had sought to maintain commercial preponderance in China with a minimum of political involvement. In the 1890's the activities of British missionaries threatened this policy, for mission work led to antimissionary riots, and riots drew Britain, often reluctantly, into more active pressure upon China. Missionaries spelled trouble for the weakened Manchu regime too, caught as it was between violent antiforeign and anticonvert feeling and the demands of the powers for the suppression of the manifestations of that feeling. Increased missionary problems coincided, moreover, with China's defeat by Japan, which made China a prime field for international rivalry.

This careful, well-documented, and illuminating study thus deals with important elements in an important period of modern Chinese history. It opens with a discussion of the riots of 1891, carries on through the relief of the legations in 1900, and includes a judicious and analytic concluding chapter. The author examines British policy in a period of relative ineptitude, when at times both White-

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hall and the British representatives in the field showed only inadequate understanding of the forces at work in China itself and tended to concentrate on Britain's contest with Russia in the East. From the Chinese side the story is one of declining confidence in Britain and finally a united front with the violently anti-Christian and antiforeign Boxers. The work makes effective use of materials in the Public Record Office and the archives of various British missionary societies.

Mount Holyoke College MERIBETH E. CAMERON

BRITAIN AND AFRICA. By *Kenneth Kirkwood.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1965. Pp. 235. $5.00.)

THIS volume is one in the series "Britain and the World To-day" which "originates" at St. Antony's College, Oxford, and which is designed to stimulate debate on issues of policy. Professor Kirkwood lived for many years in South Africa before moving to St. Antony's just over ten years ago. He has long been associated, in Britain and in South Africa, with groups that have attempted to affect the course of public policy as well as being involved in teaching and research on questions of race relations. Throughout this work there are allusions, most of them of necessity lacking in detail, to debates in which he participated. He sees his task as one to stimulate thought and debate about Britain's future role in Africa, rather than to inform either about the present or the past. Slightly more than a third of the book is taken up with a historical account of Britain in Africa; the rest deals with Southern, West, Eastern, and independent Africa in turn, with a brief postscript dated April 1965.

On many issues Kirkwood writes with insight, particularly in questioning throughout many of the changes in British policy after 1945. The scramble out of Africa has been even more hurried than the earlier scramble for it, and it cannot be argued that authority was abandoned because of the impossibility of staying longer, as was the case in India. Kirkwood makes a strong case for the recognition of the importance of the ties that link many parts of Africa to Britain and the necessity of maintaining and developing them in the postcolonial world. British policy, he argues, must be generous in giving aid, but willing also to adopt unpopular positions, unpopular even among new nations.

If one were to criticize this readable book, it would be on the score of vagueness. The author is certainly catholic in his choice of subjects and targets for criticism: British policy, the UN, new states, and, above all, "politics" as contrasted with "statesmanship." He makes eloquent appeals for action based on sober thought and for the mining of the rich ore in the records of the British Empire for possible guidance on present-day problems. Furthermore, he is prepared to make the unpopular appeal for understanding of the position of white South Africans, an appeal no more and no less legitimate today than at any time in the twentieth century. Individually, few of his propositions can be questioned. What is lacking is precision, particularly in relation to the baffling question for any policy maker of how to pursue a series of individually worthy policies at a time when one friend's meat is another friend's poison. Kirkwood's treatment

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has tended to separate the continent into regions whose basis is historical and to regard them as separate problem areas. That separation was possible in the days of empire; it is far more difficult today. It may well be questioned, moreover, whether Kirkwood has demonstrated to the skeptical that Britain has a real interest in maintaining all these ties with Africa. These are, however, the questions that the author intended to provoke, and he cannot fairly be criticized for failing to suggest detailed answers.

Wesleyan University JEFFREY BUTLER

ISLAM IN THE MODERN NATIONAL STATE. By *Erwin I. J. Rosenthal.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xxi, 416. $10.50.)

THIS study, the second on Islamic politico-religious thought by the author, is devoted to modern Islam. The earlier volume, dealing with classical Islamic political thought, was confined to the medieval age. The book seems to be organized into selected topics on the modernization of Islam rather than being a comprehensive treatment of the subject, although all the essays are related to one theme: the modern national state. Some of the essays are indeed successful and illuminating. Those on Islam in Pakistan, Islam and national education, and Islam and the emancipation of women are highly commendable and are based on firsthand information.

The book, however, seems to suffer from two principal defects. First, the author's discussion on one particular thinker often gives the impression that his generalizations are applicable to general trends. A case in point is his paper on Allal al-Fasi which, in my opinion, is the best in the volume, but Fasi's ideas hardly represent the general trend of thought in North Africa. Why has the author said nothing about Bennabi or Bin Milad for instance? Second, Rosenthal seems to be at home in the non-Arab countries of the Islamic world, Pakistan, and the Maghrib (Northwest Africa), which he had visited, but not in the Arabic-speaking countries of the Nile Valley and the Fertile Crescent. His representative thinkers of Islam and Arab nationalism are ill-chosen, for he discusses the ideas of such writers as Sayyid Qutb, Khalid Muhammad Khalid, and Muhammad al-Ghazzali, whose principal preoccupations are either with the defense of Islam or with its potential capacity for modernization rather than with nationalism. Such writers as Abd-Allah al-Da'im, Bazzaz, Razzaz, and Husri, whose writings deal with the relationship between Islam and nationalism, are not even mentioned. More disappointing is the paper on "The Changes in Law," for it is too brief and superficial, and the author lacks acquaintance with recent research on the subject. For in this field there has been real progress in the modernization of an Islamic institution that has relevance to practical problems. He does not seem to have seen my chapter, "From Religious to National Law," in R. N. Anshen's *Mid-East: World Center* (1956) nor some other recent studies.

Despite these critical remarks, which by no means diminish the value of the book, Rosenthal has made a very serious attempt to study the problem of the modernization of Islam in a clear and well-written volume. It is to be recom-

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mended not only to students of Islam but to all interested in the "modernization" of the developing countries.

Johns Hopkins University MAJID KHADDURI

A HISTORY OF SPACE FLIGHT. By *Eugene M. Emme*. Coordinating Editor, *James V. Bernardo*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1965. Pp. 224. $2.95.)

EVER since Sputnik I went up on October 4, 1957, it has been difficult to keep straight the rockets and satellites of the United States and Russia. For the reader lost in vehicular confusion, this book by Eugene M. Emme, chief historian of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, is a useful reference tool. Replete with photographs, it details the chronology of rocket and satellite developments: their scientific purposes, places on the technological ladder, design capabilities, and performance achievements. In addition, the chapter sources—there are no footnotes—make a beginner's bibliography of the subject.

Like most technological developments, the contemporary thrust into space has its historical antecedents in the dreams and efforts of bygone eras. Emme reminds us of the interest of the ancients in astronomy, briefly surveys the history of flight, and describes the pre-Sputnik evolution of rocket technology in the US, Germany, and, to a limited extent, Russia. His discussion of rocket development adds a fillip of utility to the reference value of the book.

But the book is little more than a useful reference. Based on well-known secondary sources and published NASA documents, it adds little flesh to the skeleton of our knowledge. Its value is diminished even further by Emme's failure to deal with points of controversy in the American space program. Why did President Kennedy decide, against the earlier advice of his science adviser, that the United States should send a man to the moon? Emme declares that Project Apollo had been discussed within NASA well before the commitment of 1961. Abjuring any further analysis, he does not even mention that the President called for the moon program before the Congress just thirty-eight days after America's international prestige had sunk in the Bay of Pigs fiasco. The space program is the child of continual policy conflicts, Emme declares. History, he says, will one day reveal them; his book does not.

California Institute of Technology DANIEL J. KEVLES

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND CHINA. By *A. T. Steele*. [The United States and China in World Affairs.] (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1966. Pp. x, 325. $7.50.)

POLICIES TOWARD CHINA: VIEWS FROM SIX CONTINENTS. Edited by *A. M. Halpern*. [The United States and China in World Affairs.] (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1965. Pp. xiv, 528. $9.95.)

THESE two volumes, in a notable series organized by the late Robert Blum, have appeared at the precise moment when China policy has re-emerged in public dis-

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cussion. Indeed the preparation of this series has both prepared the way for, and will now further assist, the resumed discussion of China policy.

A. T. Steele, one of our most widely experienced foreign correspondents, spent a great part of the 1930's and 1940's in China and yet has a perspective derived from much firsthand acquaintance with the Americas, Africa, Europe, and other parts of Asia. He traces the American attitudes toward China over the last thirty years, the influence of pro-Nationalist sentiment, and the various responses to the rise of Communist China. Quoting extensively from his own recent interviews, he assesses the currents of leadership opinion, the boundaries of public tolerance as indicated in opinion polls, and the organization and activities of various pressure groups, including the "China Lobby." He also surveys the present means of forming our public image of China and how the subject is dealt with in our educational system and in the legislative and executive branches. All this is based on personal background of discussion with individuals in all sectors of opinion and many parts of the country. This remarkably judicious and well-balanced analysis concludes with an outspoken demand for a thorough, straightforward, and realistic appraisal of a dangerously neglected problem.

A. M. Halpern, a policy analyst of long experience in research, has gathered a world-wide conspectus of other countries' responses to the China problem. Contributions are by British, French, German, Japanese, Indian, Canadian, Australian, Brazilian, and other specialists. Each of the seventeen chapters characterizes the relationship of a different country or area with Communist China, the phases of its historical development, the principal issues, economic, political, and otherwise, and the prospects. The result is well organized and extremely informative. Halpern notes in his own survey chapter that the Western European countries view China from a considerable distance, more concerned for trade than for national security, while there is great diversity among the underdeveloped countries, much sympathy for Peking being mixed with cases of disillusionment.

Both volumes contain useful reference matter. They could not appear at a more appropriate moment, nor make a more solid and constructive contribution.

Harvard University JOHN K. FAIRBANK

Ancient

THE DRUIDS. By *Nora K. Chadwick*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1966. Pp. xxii, 119. 12*s*.6*d*.)

NORA K. Chadwick describes the Druids as "the most advanced of all intellectual classes among the peoples of ancient Europe beyond the Greek and Roman world." Unfortunately, there are few surviving sources to tell her much about their intellectual activity; she must rely on alien sources—Greek and Latin—for information about them. This scarcity of sources forces her to write a work that is more a history of classical thought about the Druids than a history of the Druids.

Chadwick begins her work with a list of ancient authorities who described the Druids, and she is careful in her criticism of their writing. She finds that the works can be grouped into two schools: the school of Posidonius, a Greek writer

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of the first century B.C., followed by most of the Roman writers; and the Alexandrian school, probably begun in the third century B.C. The Alexandrians were sympathetic in their accounts of the Druids, describing them as students of natural science and moral philosophy. The Posidonians were seeking to justify Roman imperialism; they therefore painted a darker picture of the Druids, noting their presence at human sacrifices. Chadwick's concern with these classical writers is shown in the organization of the book, for each chapter is devoted to a group of writers. This organization, not adhering to a chronological or topical pattern, makes for some unnecessary repetition. Frequent use of such phrases as "to which I shall refer later" illustrates this.

Any student of the Druids must consider the interpretations given to these classical works by other scholars. It is unfortunate that this book lacks a bibliography listing their works. Chadwick can hardly be expected to offer startling new interpretations differing from those of such earlier scholars as Camille Jullian or T. D. Kendrick. She does, however, present interesting new views on two points. In her account of the decline of the Druids, she rejects Roman "repression" or "persecution" as an important factor. She writes that the Druids "perished by slow strangulation, the inevitable result of the superimposition of a higher culture on a lower." In her account of the Druids' teachings, she stresses that they were not priests but philosophers. She notes their interest in the physical universe, similar to that of the Ionian Greek philosophers, and she feels that there was a connection, probably through the Greek colony at Marseilles. Neither Chadwick nor anyone else knows enough of the Druids' teachings to test this theory. Her speculation on this point is, nevertheless, stimulating.

Florida State University RALPH V. TURNER

POLITICAL POWER IN THE ANCIENT WORLD. By *Mario Attilio Levi.* Translation by *Jane Costello.* ([New York:] New American Library. 1965. Pp. 194. $5.00.)

A BOOK with this title should surely contain discussions of Plato and Aristotle, of Cicero and Tacitus, of Alexander the Great, and of Julius Caesar. Instead, I found the following statements: "When Greece declared war on Persia, two streams within the Greek community were fighting for control of the country. . . ." "The sense of unity which the Greeks had always preserved as an absolute necessity did not allow them to imagine the possibility of splitting the body of the Greek community to give it a greater variety of organisation. . . ." "There were many attempts to make Athene, the Goddess of the Acropolis, an oracular deity." Evidently, Greek history is not the author's strong point. Yet, Roman history does not fare much better: "The patriciate was a 'nomen,' a closed sect, with its own religious observances, 'sacra,' it governed the state and defended it. To belong to the 'populus' which possessed these sacred rights was the gift of the gods and dependent on doing military service. . . ." "The Latins and the plebs both formed 'nomina' outside the patritiate [*sic*], which inherited the dominant rôle of the Etruscans. . . ." "Gradually the consulate assumed all the attributes of royal power."

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Much of the blame belongs to the translator and to the publisher for producing such sentences as "The Panathenic procession was carved for the Acropolis as a series of portraits of the youths of Athens, the most representative part of the democracy, now become the subject of history." Even if this book is, as the jacket claims, "considered a classic in Italy," at least it should not have been translated into English and published in this country.

Stanford University ANTONY E. RAUBITSCHEK

DIE PROVINZIALLANDTAGE DER RÖMISCHEN KAISERZEIT: VON AUGUSTUS BIS ZUM ENDE DES DRITTEN JAHRHUNDERTS N. CHR. By *Jürgen Deininger*. [Vestigia: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, Number 6.] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1965. Pp. xvi, 220. DM 30.)

SINCE Guiraud's book on provincial assemblies in the Roman Empire (1887) and Kornemann's articles in Pauly-Wissowa on "Concilium" (1901) and "Koinon" (1924), another general survey of the evidence and discussion of their organization and activities requires justification. It is found in the additions to our epigraphical evidence and the considerable number of special studies that have appeared in the intervening period. The present work therefore brings up to date and renews on more rigorous lines a discussion that recognizes, as Mommsen did in his day, the difficulties that still impede a full historical treatment.

The author finds in the later days of the Ionian *Koinon* the combination of ruler cult and limited vindication of regional interests characteristic of the assemblies of the principate. But he rightly regards the *Koinon* of Asia of the period of the republic as the most immediate model of both the other *koina* of the East and the *concilia* of the West, since other such institutions, as in Crete and Lycia, long retained their own special forms. Immediate expansion under Augustus in the East was natural enough, but it is noteworthy that in the West the assemblies were fostered first in the less Romanized imperial provinces and only later, mostly under Vespasian, extended to the more advanced senatorial ones, such as Narbonese Gaul, Africa, and Baetica. Clearly the provincial assemblies were considered a means of Romanizing the provincial leaders and attaching them to the imperial regime. There is evidence for them in almost every province except Egypt, even so late a one as Dacia, and they appear in so similar a form throughout that there can be no quarrel with the author for using the models of Asia and Gaul where evidence is scanty.

Evidence for organization and activity, even when considerable, is often repetitive and uninformative: the recording of honors for priests. Yet the author's claim that in Asia "Asiarch" and "Archiereus" are terms for one and the same office seems certain for the second and third centuries of our era and reasonable for the earlier period, although it is not excluded that Asiarch was the earlier term and that the two were assimilated as *Koinon* temples of the imperial cult came to require an equal number of priests. One must grant too that in these assemblies the various provincial cities of differing status were represented, and the opinion of the leading elements in each province could thus be ascertained,

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but the author rejects firmly, and rightly, the view that this representation meant a share in administration or jurisdiction. One is tempted to speculate on the result for the Empire if they had had such a share. But a scanty and partial record does indicate that they were not without influence when praise, blame, or prosecution of officials was in question, and could, if unanimous, bring protests directly to the Emperor or the Senate with some chance of success.

It has long been recognized that prominence in a provincial assembly presaged advancement into the nobility of the Empire for families that could afford the conspicuous expenditures involved. But in the West few of the provincial priests themselves rose above lower equestrian rank, while in the East, where the prior possession of Roman citizenship was not required, the office was regularly the crown of a career. Equestrian and even senatorial rank were likely to follow in the next generation. The assemblies have an important place in assessing social mobility during the principate.

With the disasters of the third century the evidence for the assemblies declines sharply, while the post-Diocletianic period, which is not treated in this monograph, saw a complete change in the institution. This is a useful treatise which brings up to date our knowledge of one of the more interesting, and tantalizing, institutions of the Roman Empire.

University of North Carolina T. Robert S. Broughton

LEISURE AND PLEASURE IN ROMAN EGYPT. By *Jack Lindsay*. ([New York:] Barnes and Noble. 1966. Pp. xiv, 482. $10.00.)

In the broad flood of Mr. Lindsay's writings there is a special current of enthusiasm for the classical world, for the pastimes, details of life, and literature of its everyday folk. His most recent book pursues such subjects into Roman Egypt, filling out the picture with material from other periods and places. The author knows his languages, the minor literary sources, the papyri, and (very widely) the modern progress in the field. As a scholarly work, however, the book is still not perfect. It suffers from a habit of compression and abbreviation in the notes and references, which occasionally baffles and must often irritate the reader; to the bibliography of each chapter, moreover, one or two fairly important items should be added. Though factual errors are few, and minor, yet a broader fault lies in the recurrent tendency to attribute to people of the time an informed awareness of their own culture now matched only by some curator of Egyptian antiquities. How many of us, however, know why we greet a sneeze with "Bless you!" or why we deck a pine tree at Christmas? The man in the street of Roman Egypt cannot have responded much more sensitively to the fascinating cultural lights, meanings, and connections that the author detects. His error here is perhaps that of an enthusiast, but a like quality of somewhat undisciplined love of his subject also accounts for the inchoate character of his work indicated by the table of contents itself—"Holidays," "More on Holidays and Festivals," "Dance of Life and Death," "The Gymnasion," "Athletics," "Charioteers," and so on—accounts further for Herodotean digressions at the slightest excuse into whatever is interesting. Twenty pages bring in lions, a poem by an Egyptian poetaster,

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Naucratis, Antinoos' cult, deification of men and women from the Twenty-first Dynasty to the second century A.D., marine symbolism, spiral columns, snake worship, Dionysus' cult, commentary on Nonnus, panthers, elephants, bird hunting and taming, and leases of private dovecots.

Most of this is worth reading; much of it will be unfamiliar to serious students; all of it is presented in stylish, clear, engaging English. To be digested, however, it must be read in short snatches and with a defense alert to the author's vivid imagination.

Brandeis University RAMSAY MACMULLEN

PLUTARCH'S HISTORICAL METHODS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE *MULIERUM VIRTUTES*. By *Philip A. Stadter*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 159. $4.00.)

THIS minute analysis of the historical sources and methods used by Plutarch for one of his minor pamphlets is more important than most doctoral dissertations. Much of our knowledge of classical antiquity derives from Plutarch's voluminous works, and therefore an investigation of his reliability is welcome. Dr. Stadter, in a brief but very interesting introduction, examines Plutarch's attitude toward women, contrasting it with the classical Greek point of view, both in theory and in practice. The whole subject of the position of women in Greek society is one of extreme importance, and it is to be hoped that the author will someday give us such a study. Plutarch's liberal point of view would seem to be, at least in part, due to his admiration for all things Roman.

The next chapter is devoted to an examination of Otto Knott's generally accepted theory that Plutarch's *Mulierum Virtutes* and Polyaenus' *Strategemata* derive from a common anthological source. The author seems to me to have succeeded in demonstrating that Polyaenus derives solely and exclusively from Plutarch, though this does not of itself prove that Plutarch did not derive his stories from an anthology. The main part of the work is therefore devoted to a detailed analysis of each of the twenty-seven stories. Since most of the tales are mere anecdotage of little historical importance, the general reader will find this chapter rather heavy going, though of great importance to the specialist in source criticism. As is usual in Plutarch, there is, however, a little for everyone. The literary scholar will find much to interest him in the stories of the Trojan women and their settlement in Latium or in 9, the Lycian women, with the curious and characteristic rationalization of the Bellerophon myth; the historian in the various tales connected with Cyrene or in those of the Argive women and the Tyrrhenian women; the Roman topographer will turn to that of the Cloelia whose equestrian statue stood on the Sacred Way. Even the art historian will discover the sources of some of the subjects popular with the more learned artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Though not all the arguments used are equally sound—the fact that Plutarch, Polybius, and Livy spell the same proper name in slightly different ways does not prove that they used different sources—their cumulative effect is very great. The author concludes by asserting that Plutarch shows "exceptional fa-

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miliarity with classical historical writing" and that "though never a critical historian," he is "a true author and no compiler."

University of Toronto G. Bagnani

Medieval

CATALOGUE DES MANUSCRITS EN ÉCRITURE LATINE PORTANT DES INDICATIONS DE DATE, DE LIEU OU DE COPISTE. Volume V, EST DE LA FRANCE. In two parts. By *Charles Samaran* and *Robert Marichal*. [Comité International de Paléographie.] (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1965. Pp. xxxii, 731; 249 plates.)

This is the third volume to appear in a new catalogue listing Latin manuscripts in France bearing indications of date, place, or scribe. The first two were devoted to manuscripts in Parisian archives; the third and fourth, now in preparation, will deal with manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The present volume is devoted to the east of France: Champagne (departments of Marne, Ardennes, Aube, Haute-Marne), Lorraine (departments of Meuse, Moselle, Meurthe-et-Moselle, Vosges), Alsace (departments of Bas-Rhin and Haut-Rhin), and Franche-Comté (departments of Haute-Saône, Doubs, Jura). The title is somewhat misleading, since manuscripts written in the vernacular are also included.

The catalogue is not meant to be all-inclusive, but to list a sufficiently large number of manuscripts to furnish the basis for a paleographical atlas of the region. Documents of a public nature have been excluded as well as, in the case of the sixteenth century, manuscripts written in what the editors describe as "personal handwriting." The *Catalogue Général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* was used as the basis for selection. The editors list, 1,062 manuscripts either in detail or in summary, ranging from the eighth through the sixteenth century and distributed, according to century, as follows: eighth—2, ninth—20, tenth—7, eleventh—33, twelfth—183, thirteenth—102, fourteenth—121, fifteenth—530, sixteenth—64. For most manuscripts the information given includes library catalogue number, place and date, title, description, origin and *destinataire,* scribe, possessor, and plate number. Plates I–CLXXXVII are in chronological order; plates CLXXXVIII–CCXLIX in topographical order.

The nature of the manuscripts is suggested by the fact that most of them came from libraries of religious houses confiscated during the French Revolution. The introduction to the volume contains brief sketches of the holdings of these libraries. Following the listings proper are a list of eliminated or doubtful manuscripts, works cited, a chronological table, an index of places and persons, a cumulative table of manuscripts retained, and a list of plates.

Obviously this volume is the product of an enormous amount of erudite scholarship. Equally obviously, no reviewer not having access to the manuscripts it describes can vouch for its accuracy.

Emory University G. P. Cuttino

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A HISTORY OF ISLAMIC SPAIN. By *W. Montgomery Watt.* With additional sections on literature by *Pierre Cachia.* [Islamic Surveys, Number 4.] (Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1965. Pp. x, 210. $6.00.)

THIS rapid survey of eight centuries of Hispano-Islamic history is a competent, informative, and pleasantly readable performance. Designedly aimed at the "educated reader," it will also interest the specialist for its many keen reappraisals of the civilization and the strengths and weaknesses of Moorish Spain.

Since the author is an authority on the life of Mohammed and Islamic thought, it is not surprising to encounter here a strongly Middle Eastern approach. Stress is placed upon al-Andalus as a full-fledged branch of medieval Islam, dominated in the first three centuries of the Ommiad emirate-caliphate by specifically Arabian forces and values, and thereafter undergoing intensive Islamization in the context of the mature Middle Eastern cultural synthesis. This view counters, to a degree justly, prevailing tendencies to identify Spanish Islam as more Spanish than Islamic. Much less justly, it minimizes the powerful North African Almoravid, Almohad, and other Berber influences, which are too readily dismissed as mere intermediaries of Middle Eastern movements. Relative unfamiliarity with the problems and literature of the Christian reconquest results in various misjudgments. Watt, for example, displays little real understanding of Luso-Hispanic expansionist forces; he has a lamentable weakness for the theories of Américo Castro, whom he naïvely rates above Sánchez-Albornoz for a treatment "more exciting and apparently more balanced . . . and one more congenial to the Islamist"; and he grossly exaggerates the feudal origins of Iberian political particularism. On the political side, indeed, we are given a pious but unrealistic hypothesis that the breakdown of the caliphate and the failure of its successor states can be ascribed to the fact that a great imperial power violates per se the spiritual premises of Islam. We are further told that schism between the power-hungry, materialistic upper class and the profoundly religious masses made political unity and defeat of the Christian advance impossible. But this oversimplified thesis is difficult to reconcile with the Arabian-Islamic dichotomy earlier propounded, for in the period of Ommiad might it was the allegedly less idealistic "Arabian" forces that were in the saddle, while the era of decline would appear to coincide with the triumph of Islamic spirituality.

While intellectual and literary history are given generous space, institutional and economic topics receive much scantier treatment. But the work as a whole, with its terminal bibliographical essay, provides an intelligent and useful introduction to a large, complex subject.

University of Virginia C. J. BISHKO

ANNALES DE SAINT-BERTIN. By *Félix Grat et al.* Introduction and notes by *Léon Levillain.* [Société d'Histoire de France (Série antérieure à 1789).] (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck for the Société. 1964. Pp. lxxviii, 295. 48 fr.)

AN important source of Carolingian history, the *Annales* of Saint-Bertin cover

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the years 830 to 882, and may be looked upon as the continuation of the official yearbooks of the Royal Frankish dynasty, the *Annales regni Francorum*. The work received its name in modern times because the oldest and its most complete manuscript, today in the Library of Saint-Omer, came from the abbey of Saint-Bertin. It consists of three parts, the first comprising the years 830–835, the second 835–861, and the third the remaining years until 882. While the author of the first part, a non-Germanic national of the *Gallia Belgica,* remains unknown, it is generally agreed that the Spaniard Prudentius, a chaplain of Louis the Pious, wrote the second part, and the renowned Hincmar of Reims the third. The partisanship of the writer for Louis is obvious in the first part of the *Annales*. Prudentius used the same historical approach, much as if he were the Empire's historian. After the Emperor's death in 840, the narration actually becomes for the most part a history of the western Carolingian Empire.

The critical edition of the Latin text is based not only on seven manuscripts in libraries at Berlin, Brussels, Douai, Saint-Omer, and Paris, but also on the indirect textual transmission inserted into Flodoard's *History of the Church of Rheims,* and in the *Chronicle on the Deeds of the Normans*. The long introduction deals with the rather complicated history of the work to which, previously, investigations were contributed by Gabriel Monod, Georg Waitz, Wilhelm Wattenbach, René Poupardin, and F. L. Ganshof (in the *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat,* Volume II [1949], 159–74). Grat's recension of the text was prepared for publication by Jeanne Vielliard and Suzanne Clémencet, while Léon Levillain wrote the annotations and comments on the text. The merits of this new edition become obvious from its comparison with the last recension of 1883 by Georg Waitz.

The publication of this posthumous work by Grat honors the memory of a young, promising scholar and French patriot. In this context, scholars must be reminded that the *Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes* owes its foundation and existence to the scholarly initiative of Grat.

Marquette University LUITPOLD WALLACH

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE HISTORY. Volume II. Edited by *William M. Bowsky*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1965. Pp. 310. $6.50.)

THIS second volume in the series edited by William M. Bowsky confirms the favorable impression made by its predecessor. It contains two short monographs and two long articles, all of a size awkward to publish in a separate volume or a journal. In "Adalbero, Bishop of Laon," Robert T. Coolidge traces the career of that amazing prelate. Nephew of Archbishop Adalbero of Reims, a pupil of Gerbert's, and a man of some talent, he meddled viciously in the tortuous politics of Carolingian, Capetian, and Ottonian monarchs. Time and again his plots miscarried, but his punishment was never severe or permanent. He owed his survival to a venerable age as senior statesman under Robert to his "resiliency, resourcefulness, intelligence, and personal attractiveness" in a feudal society whose standards were his own.

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In "The Estates and Finances of Richard, Duke of York (1411–60)," Joel T. Rosenthal assays the wealth and management of England's richest nobleman. The "valors" of his receiverships (large administrative units) show an income of £4,700, but local accounts of ministers and receivers indicate a wastage of about 20 per cent. This was not a new or growing drain on resources that can explain York's politics as those of a "desperate nobility." His income shows no appreciable decline. He was a phlegmatic landlord, content to leave the administration of his vast and sprawling holdings to the care of his loyal and tolerably efficient officials. The complex administrative structure shows infinite variety at the local level, with the receivers as the links between the individual manors and York's household and council.

In his "Analysis of Military Forces in the Principality of Lièges and the County of Looz from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century," Claude Gaier challenges F. Lot's views on the numerical weakness of medieval armies and the fallibility of narrative accounts of their sizes. His careful analysis of the size and character of forces available to those related states shows great variety, as between cavalry and infantry; urban and rural troops; feudal, communal, and mercenary bands; foreign allies and companies. It was an age of change from feudal chivalry to various forms of paid soldiers, and Lièges may serve as the microcosm of Western Europe.

In "The Monastery of S. Alessio and the Religious and Intellectual Renaissance of Tenth-Century Rome," Bernard Hamilton tells of the foundation and early growth of that house. Founded in 977 amid the ruins of the monastery of St. Boniface on the Aventine by Sergius, Orthodox archbishop of Edessa, its membership comprised both Greek and Latin monks. Under Abbot Leo (981–999) the house flourished along with the cult of S. Alessio who became senior patron, his dubious connection having been authenticated by a forged foundation charter. Through Leo's ability, S. Alessio found supporters among the rival Tusculan, Crescentian, and Ottonian parties; its spiritual and intellectual life prospered with its economy.

University of Chicago JAMES LEA CATE

LE GOUVERNEMENT ROYAL AUX PREMIERS TEMPS CAPÉTIENS (987–1108). By *Jean-François Lemarignier*. (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie. 1965. Pp. 225.)

THIS is a remarkable book. Its technique is a model for all scholars; it shows how much can be learned from careful, intelligent, and well-informed study of a comparatively small number of authentic documents. Its content sums up, to a large degree, the brilliant work done by Lemarignier in earlier articles and gives us the best picture of the "first feudal age" in France that we have ever had.

It is based on the royal diplomas issued from 987 to 1108. Lemarignier shows how the need for many witnesses and the steady decline in the quality of the witnesses goes *pari passu* with the decline in royal power. The geographical area from which the witnesses are drawn and to which the diplomas apply also shrinks as royal power diminishes. The great territorial princes almost never appear, dis-

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tant prelates are usually absent, and the king is left with the clergy and petty nobility of the Île-de-France. Only in this region does he have power, and even here he can only influence or act as arbiter; he cannot command.

The characteristic sign of the first feudal age is the fragmentation of political power, and this is especially noticeable in the royal domain. The *pagus* breaks up into castellanies, and the larger castellanies are divided in their turn. The inflation of honors goes with the deflation of power. Lords of a fraction of a *pagus* take the title of count, and the "great officers" of the court of France are only great castellans. Lemarignier makes the interesting observation that there was some fragmentation in the ecclesiastical world as well; as each lord founded his own abbey or collegiate church the sphere of influence of the great monasteries declined.

Lemarignier sees, quite rightly, a revival of royal power in the last years of Philip I, but like most scholars, he cannot fully explain the change. There was no *Curia Regis* like that of England in France in 1100, and the idea of a feudal hierarchy, with every lord ultimately responsible to the king, was just beginning to develop. Yet there is no doubt that by 1100 Philip (or rather Prince Louis) spoke with more authority than before and could enforce many of his commands. Lemarignier thinks that the Anglo-Norman example had some influence, but that it is also possible that the strengthening of the hierarchical principle in the Church was observed and imitated in France. In this case we would have, as he says, a curious paradox: "la réforme grégorienne, dont les réussites ont finalement conduit au déclin de la monarchie germanique, aurait favorisé la monarchie française."

The book ends with a unique and useful set of tables and maps. These make it possible to see at a glance the witnesses for each diploma, or the number of times any one witness appeared at court during a reign. They also show the location of churches receiving diplomas, and the geographical distribution of bishops who witnessed diplomas. The final tables describe briefly the purpose of the diplomas issued by each king.

Princeton University JOSEPH R. STRAYER

VIE DE ROBERT LE PIEUX: EPITOMA VITAE REGIS ROTBERTI PII. By *Helgaud de Fleury*. Edited, translated, and annotated by *Robert-Henri Bautier* and *Gillette Labory*. Preface by *Charles-Edmond Perrin*. [Sources d'histoire médiévale.] (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1965. Pp. 165. 28 fr.)

THIS is the first volume of what may become an important series of texts (with translations) of medieval narrative sources, undertaken by the *Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes*. The significance of the whole series will only become apparent when subsequent volumes are added to this and its immediate successors, which are planned to include several other works of early French monastic historiography. The value of this volume for scholars is undeniable. The translation is admirable, the editing meticulous, and the notes learned and copious. The work itself exists in a single manuscript, much corrected and in part

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certainly the author's autograph, which is illustrated in the plates and described at length in a masterly introduction.

King Robert the Pious, who was crowned during the lifetime of his father Hugh Capet, is the only early Capetian monarch to have found a contemporary or almost contemporary biographer. But Helgaud's work, written in the monastery of St. Benedict at Fleury on the Loire, is little more than a collection of trivial anecdotes and other banalities, which illustrate Helgaud's ecclesiastical interests and obvious intent to write an encomium of the king who had confirmed his abbey's privileges. The ruler who had set fire to a monastery that impeded his conquests, and whose marital adventures earned him an excommunication, is presented to us as a saint, while his role in history is misunderstood and ignored. Indeed, this is a work of hagiography rather than biography. One begins to ponder the desirability of dedicating so much care and erudition to so commonplace a work, which was, after all, already available in accessible form in the original Latin and in a French translation. We may, however, seek consolation in the excellence of the scholarship of this volume, and in the promise of more important texts in forthcoming ones.

University of Hull RICHARD VAUGHAN

UNTERSUCHUNGEN ÜBER DIE ENTWERTUNG DES JUDENSTATUS IM 11. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Lea Dasberg*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI[e] Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Études juives, Number 11.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1965. Pp. 220. Glds. 18.)

THE First Crusade had a shattering effect on the Jews of Catholic Europe, especially on those in Germany. Not only was the loss of life extremely serious, but a radical change took place in the form of their economic pursuits and eventually even in their political status. Generally speaking, therefore, the end of the eleventh century clearly marked the beginning of a process of deterioration of the conditions of the Jews in the West, a process that lasted for more than two centuries, that culminated in the complete liquidation of Jewish settlements in England and France, and that reduced their position in Germany almost to insignificance. Although Dr. Dasberg realizes that the riots and mob actions during the summer of 1096 were but a beginning of the actual process of deterioration described above, and that many years passed before that process became recognizable in the social, economic, and political spheres, she nevertheless insists that the massacres of that year were a culmination of a process of deterioration that began several decades before the end of the eleventh century. That earlier process constitutes the main subject of her extensive study.

Stressing the problem of why this deterioration took place in the eleventh century, and not earlier, Dasberg divides the solutions proposed by modern historians into three classes: those that emphasize religious differences, economic rivalry, or social tensions. She points out the inadequacy of each type of solution, in the face of her conviction that the above-mentioned deterioration developed specifically in the eleventh century. Jewish historians, moreover, have failed to give sufficient consideration to the fact that the role of the Jews in Western Europe was not

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merely passive but strongly active; they exerted a powerful influence on the development of ideas and attitudes, on economic and social evolutions, and on the struggle for political power involving the Church, the Empire, and the feudal lords.

Dasberg analyzes at length the political status of the Jews, their economic activities, the relationship of Jewish and Christian merchants in the eleventh century, on the one hand, and the attitude of the Church to the political status of the Jews, the consequences of the investiture controversy, and the effect of the reform movement of Cluny on the common man, on the other. She feels that the messianic ideas revived among the Jews in the last decades of that century infiltrated and became popular among the Christian masses and thus implanted in them mystical and millennial ideas and that these ideas in turn caused the popularity of the crusading movement among the lower classes and brought about the physical onslaught on the Jewish communities in Germany. In my opinion the entire hypothesis is based on a very weak foundation and is, therefore, open to question.

Yeshiva University IRVING A. AGUS

WILLIAM I AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST. By *Frank Barlow*. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (London: English Universities Press. 1965. Pp. xvii, 206. 12*s*.6*d*.)

PROFESSOR Barlow has recounted for the general reader all that is known or may be surmised about William I and his career as Duke of Normandy and King of England. It should be noted, however, that the author has not permitted the personality of the Conqueror, dominant though it always was, to obscure the significant events in which he was so important a participant. Thus the internal developments in Normandy during William's early years receive due attention, as do the complex relationships and rivalries between the Norman Duke, the King of France, and the Counts of Brittany, Anjou, Maine, and Flanders. Of particular interest in this ninth centennial year of the Hastings campaign is Barlow's treatment of the Norman Conquest. In the main he manages to steer a course that tacks cautiously, now toward the school of historical thought that tends to regard the results of Hastings as little less than catastrophic, and then in the direction of that which contends that, barring some changes in personnel and terminology, the Normans changed very little in the old English system of government. He recognizes, for example, that England had been subdued "at the price of great slaughter and widespread destruction"; that the Normans introduced a system of landholding that broke with the traditional English pattern; and that the Norman hold on England was "severely tested between 1066 and 1071 and was occasionally in acute danger." On the other hand, doubt is expressed that any significant distinction existed between the feudal host and the English fyrd, or between the Norman knight and the English *cniht*. The studies of Hollister and others have proved that such distinctions did exist and that they were far from minimal.

It would be unreasonable to expect complete consensus on so controversial a

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subject as the Norman Conquest, however, and Barlow's interpretation seems, on the whole, fair and just.

University of North Carolina, Greensboro JOHN BEELER

THE LACY FAMILY IN ENGLAND AND NORMANDY, 1066–1194. By *W. E. Wightman.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 274. $8.80.)

THE two branches of the Lacy family held widespread estates comprising the honors of Pontefract in south Yorkshire and Weobley in Herefordshire. Most of the book is an explanation of how these honors were created and a narrative of the family, presented somewhat as an expanded or annotated genealogy. The author is to be commended for a thorough and conscientious use of sources and the care with which he makes deductions from the more intractable among them. Nevertheless, considering the amount of scholarly effort involved, it seems fair to express some disappointment that this study of a prominent family provides little additional understanding of the general history of the period from 1066 to 1194. Undoubtedly the sources (mostly charters) imposed severe limitations, but the author also seems to have adopted a rather narrow approach.

A few points of general interest that emerge are: large and compact fiefs in Yorkshire had no relation to pre-Conquest landholding; the Domesday term "waste" could mean a kind of bookkeeping adjustment in the tally of manors where a reorganization was in process or even where high-lying land unsuitable for plowing was being converted to pasture; and the disturbances under King Stephen had a purely local character in the north. There is a glimpse of the administrative machinery that included a household modeled on the royal household in the later twelfth century and something on the court system. The sources give little information on the economic development of the estates. In spite of the care with which this particular study was accomplished, it is difficult to see how even a series of such monographs on other baronial families would add substantially to our knowledge of the period.

Duke University CHARLES R. YOUNG

THE JUSTICIARSHIP IN ENGLAND, 1066–1232. By *Francis West.* [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Series, Volume XII.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 306. $10.50.)

MR. West has provided a history of the medieval English justiciarship during its short existence together with brief biographies of the men who served as justiciars. He sees the office emerging under Henry II and considers that the fall of Hubert de Burgh in 1232 marks its true end, the justiciarship being abolished in 1234. While there were no justiciars under the three Norman kings, West believes that the office originated in circumstances that developed after the Conquest, particularly in the need for a regent to function when the king was on the Continent, and then in the need for a judicial deputy and a head of the Exchequer, the last two responsibilities existing whether or not the king was abroad. Although

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the duties performed by Roger of Salisbury under Henry I were similar to those of the Angevin justiciar, continuity in the office was broken under Stephen. In the early years of Henry II's reign two justiciars, Robert, earl of Leicester, and Richard de Luci, served together; with the appointment of Ranulf de Glanville, the justiciarship was accepted as a regular agency of government.

Richard's prolonged absence and captivity, the loss of Normandy under John, and the minority of Henry III influenced the development of the office as did the background and training of the men who held it. Most justiciars were not members of prominent families but self-made men who acquired considerable lands during their service to the king.

Under Richard I the financial duties of the office became increasingly important with the large sums collected for his ransom. Under John both the judicial and administrative functions became fully developed. On the other hand, the increasing departmentalization of the government made effective control by one man impossible. Although Magna Carta placed considerable reliance on the justiciar, the office almost immediately lost in importance with the use of a council as regent during the minority of Henry III.

West has made a useful contribution in tracing the history of the justiciarship largely through cases in the law courts and before the Exchequer. The book is not, however, easy to read. The accounts of the lands acquired by various justiciars and the details of cases obscure the over-all development of the office, particularly in the later years when the record is full. It is unsatisfactory not to have the history of the office carried to 1234. In discussing the judicial functions of the justiciar the relation between the court sitting at Westminster and the court *coram rege* is not made clear. West tends to repetition, and explanations are made after a subject has been under discussion for some time. In spite of such inadequacies the work is useful.

Princeton, New Jersey ELISABETH G. KIMBALL

THE NORMANS IN SOUTH WALES, 1070–1171. By *Lynn H. Nelson.* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 217. $6.00.)

IN the preface to this imaginative but uneven work, Professor Nelson states that it is designed "not as a history of the Normans in South Wales but as an extended commentary upon that history." This approach, while containing much of solid value, is not wholly satisfactory. The author attempts to apply the concept of a "frontier" (physical and psychological) to the process of Norman conquest, settlement, and social-cultural contact with the Welsh, but the results are mixed. His major themes—a search for rewards commensurate with toil, the (lost) opportunities to develop a society based on individualism and egalitarianism—are imprecisely formulated, and often serve to obscure, rather than clarify, the real problems. Nelson is disappointed that the marchers perpetuated those institutions with which they were already familiar and tends to substitute largely abstracted remarks about the creation or disappearance of the frontier for a close analysis of the structure of the society that actually developed. While he touches on the Normanization of the Welsh Church, the introduction of manorialism, and the

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system of marcher law, he does not always place them firmly in the context of his period or show how they operated as characteristic elements of Cambro-Norman society. In particular, he provides little fresh insight into the ways in which the marchers adapted the powers of the Welsh princes whom they displaced to create that distinctive autonomy which was not basically challenged until the reign of Edward I.

This unevenness is also apparent in other ways. The author has made excellent use of certain evidence, especially Domesday Book (the chapter on "Social Classes on the *Domesday* Frontier" is one of the liveliest and best portions of the work), but curiously little of such indispensable sources as the *Cartae de Glamorgan*. He has relied on the antiquated (and superseded) Rolls Series edition of the *Brut y Tywysogyon*, and his bibliography, albeit selective, should not on that account omit Conway Davies' *Episcopal Acts relating to Welsh Dioceses*, or recent important work in such journals as the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, the *Welsh History Review*, and *Morgannwg*. This book contains much of importance and interest, but its success in illuminating the first century of Norman rule in South Wales is only intermittent.

University of Michigan MICHAEL ALTSCHUL

CARTULAIRE ET ACTES D'ENGUERRAN DE MARIGNY. Published by *Jean Favier*. [Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques, Section de Philologie et d'Histoire, jusqu'à 1610. Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Series in 8°, Volume II.] (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1965. Pp. 313.)

CARTULAIRES DES TEMPLIERS DE DOUZENS. Published by *Pierre Gérard* and *Élisabeth Magnou* under the direction of *Philippe Wolff*. [Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques, Section de Philologie et d'Histoire, jusqu'à 1610. Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Series in 8°, Volume III.] (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1965. Pp. xliii, 363.)

THE Poor Knights of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon quickly became wealthy and powerful after their founding in the early twelfth century. Beginning with the order's founder, Hugh de Payen, southern France became a notable Templar region. A Templar commandery in the *Midi*, Douzens, can be studied by means of the work of Gérard, Magnou, and Wolff. They have published over three hundred documents from chartularies *A*, *B*, and *C* which are preserved in the departmental archives of Haute-Garonne. These chartularies, the only source for the history of the commandery of Douzens, cover the period 1110–1183. Beginning with their establishment at Douzens in 1133 on lands donated by the lords of Barbaira and Canet, the Templars acquired impressive property by exchanges, purchases, and especially donations "for the love of God and the remission of sins." The viscounts of Béziers and Carcassonne and other nobles gave most generously to the Templars. This volume contains several helpful items: bibliography, chronological and genealogical tables, two excellent maps, and a list of officials at Douzens, Carcassonne, and related Templar strongholds.

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Philip de Marigny, archbishop of Sens, played a crucial role in the destruction of the Templar order. His career was connected with that of his brother, Enguerran, who has been called the most important minister of Philip the Fair. Jean Favier, author of the best life of Enguerran, has now issued a meticulous chartulary of that individual. It is based primarily on manuscript *C* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 9785) which Favier theorizes was composed between late 1313 and early 1314 by Pierre Ascelin, one of Enguerran's clerks. Missing pages in *C* can be replaced by those of manuscript C^1 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 9786), an early fifteenth-century copy of *C*. Not dealing with Enguerran's public life, Favier's volume is a compilation of documents concerning Enguerran's domain and that of his relatives. This chartulary demonstrates clearly how Enguerran accumulated a substantial domain and also the esteem for him held by Philip the Fair and Clement V.

Both volumes exemplify devoted scholarship in their introductions and texts and are distinguished by the layout of documents, print, and indexes.

University of Dayton ERVING E. BEAUREGARD

LE PERGAMENE DEGLI UMILIATI DI CREMONA. Edited by *Vincenzo D'Alessandro.* [Università degli Studi di Palermo, Istituto di Storia. Testi e documenti, Number 2.] (Palermo: U. Manfredi Editore. 1964. Pp. 356.)

SOME time after 1680 a group of charters, mainly concerned with the buying and selling of land by the *umiliati* of Cremona, was taken to the Benedictine monastery of San Martino delle Scale, near Palermo. The documents were later transferred to the Palermo State Archive. I. Carini, who attributed them all to the *umiliati,* published a list of most of them in 1887. A. De Stefano studied them as well, showing that seven of the earliest ones did not mention the *umiliati* and could not therefore be used to support the theory of a pre-1178 origin of that movement. The present volume, continuing the editing already begun by De Stefano, gives transcriptions of ninety-four charters (eight of which have been published before), covering the period 1244–1376. It also contains summaries of five others, spread over the period 1118–1680, and a brief introduction.

The latter provides a rapid survey of the history of Cremona and the *umiliati* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but gives no detailed analysis of the documents. Their editor says, however, that these charters indicate that the *umiliati* of Cremona were mainly interested in acquiring more or less contiguous pieces of land and that their much-discussed participation in the cloth industry was only a marginal activity.

This conclusion is based on the argument from silence and is open to question. As L. Zanoni observed in his book *Gli umiliati nei loro rapporti con l'eresia, l'industria della lana, ed i communi nei secoli* XII *e* XIII, early records of the wool industry are everywhere scarce, and there was less incentive to keep memorandums of such transactions than to preserve charters giving title to land. Four of the charters published by D'Alessandro (Numbers 38, 50, 51, 52) refer, however, to deposits and loans designed to provide capital for the manufacture of cloth. Most of the other documents are less interesting. Too scattered to provide a record

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of the economic policies of any one *umiliati* house, they also fail to illustrate the various aspects of the life of the order with anything like the completeness of the documents published by Zanoni in the volume cited above.

D'Alessandro's charters provide little insight into such problems as the origin of the *umiliati,* their early involvement in heresy, their religious beliefs, and their officeholding in Italian communes. The works of Zanoni, De Stefano, and Ilarino of Milan still provide the best starting point for a study of this evangelical yet curiously worldly movement, whose emphasis on the literal application of Gospel counsels did not prevent its playing an active part in the developing economic life of medieval Italy.

Tulane University CHARLES T. DAVIS

ALIÉNOR D'AQUITAINE. By *Régine Pernoud.* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1965. Pp. 294. 16.50 fr.)

THIS biography of Eleanor is by far the most effective yet to appear. It is pleasant to have a work on this important twelfth-century figure written by a trained medievalist rather than by the usual historians of literature who are so inclined to glamorize. This biographer, though meticulous in her consultation of contemporary sources, has achieved a high literary level and yet at the same time has no apologies to make for deficiencies in either political or institutional history. No critical apparatus other than a brief survey of principal sources is included, but the reader is constantly informed as to the authorship of particular statements, with comments on their credibility.

The biographer shows keen psychological insight and presents acceptable motivation for the actions of Eleanor, which makes them more comprehensible than they usually appear. She is also able in most instances to justify her interpretations. Pernoud even possesses a fine archaeological sense with her references to buildings and objects known to the Queen, and a topographical feeling for physical settings that makes the scenes she describes intensely vivid. She has obviously viewed many of the locales where Eleanor lived.

The whole work is centered on the person of Eleanor, though naturally her royal husbands and sons are treated as personalities of consequence in the web of her eventful life. The author, however, never wanders far from her subject to those parts of the careers of Louis VII, Henry II, Richard, or John that have nothing to do with Eleanor.

Almost every chapter describes some dramatic scene, obviously based directly on the sources, and then, by a series of comments using almost a flashback technique, explains the necessary background for, as well as the significance of, the occasion. Even in dealing with poetic sources the biographer is judicious, never drawing more than is warranted from these possible allusions to the Queen.

Marquette University CYRIL E. SMITH

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HISTOIRE DU DROIT ET DES INSTITUTIONS DE L'ÉGLISE EN OCCIDENT. Published under the direction of *Gabriel Le Bras*. Volume VII, L'ÂGE CLASSIQUE, 1140–1378: SOURCES ET THÉORIE DU DROIT. By *G. Le Bras et al.* (Paris: Sirey. 1965. Pp. xii, 608.)

One of the significant contributions of Gabriel Le Bras to the study of medieval canon law has been to inspire and direct a number of cooperative scholarly enterprises among which is this series which proposes to treat the history of the law and institutions of the Western Church from ancient times to the present in some twenty volumes. For this volume, which introduces the medieval era, Le Bras has enlisted the services of Jacqueline Rambaud and Charles Lefebvre. The authors have divided their work into three parts, but essentially they treat two main subjects: the sources and general theories of medieval canon law.

In the first part Rambaud discusses the textual sources, organization, and later additions to the *Decretum* of Gratian. In some hundred pages she has rendered a great service by summarizing the results of her researches over the past twenty years in the manuscripts of this work. As we might expect, her résumé presents Gratian's compilation as an extremely intricate process which the latest edition of Emile Friedberg only conceals and of which perhaps no critical edition can fully render account. In truth the *Decretum* was a complex product of the schools of Bologna that can never be represented as a static treatise.

In the second part Lefebvre treats the development of canon law after the *Decretum* until the end of the fourteenth century by analyzing its component parts, such as papal decretals, conciliar canons, Roman law, and customs, and by showing how they were collected in ways useful to the practice and teaching of canon law. Finally he discusses the creation of schools of canon law at Bologna, Paris, and elsewhere that produced a coherent system of jurisprudence. In these first two parts of the volume the authors have written a manual on the sources and study of medieval canon law that will introduce the student to the latest scholarship and bibliography of the subject.

In the third part Lefebvre turns from a kind of "literary history" to a history of doctrine. Since the subject matter of law encompasses as much as life itself, the author has limited himself to the general theories of jurisprudence. Here he has treated historically such theoretical notions as justice, equity, natural law, positive law, and reason, and he has analyzed the various kinds of medieval law such as constitutions, rescripts, privileges, dispensations, and customs. This last section serves as a general and philosophical introduction to the proposed five succeeding volumes which will treat the entire doctrinal scope of medieval canon law.

Johns Hopkins University John W. Baldwin

GILBERT FOLIOT AND HIS LETTERS. By *Dom Adrian Morey* and *C. N. L. Brooke*. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Series, Volume XI.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 312. $12.00.)

Now that several studies devoted to the careers of twelfth-century bishops have

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been published, a more adequate picture of the period is beginning to emerge. The present book, taking its place beside an earlier influential volume by Dom Adrian Morey on *Bartholomew of Exeter,* contributes valuable detail to that picture.

The authors see the major interest in Gilbert Foliot as a mirror for the age, and, in fact, the principal strength of their book lies in the way in which his career is related to the historical context. They show that Gilbert's role in the Becket controversy has been treated with less than justice by historians. On the other hand, they present evidence that he was involved in the forging of documents at Gloucester. In the discussion of forgery in the twelfth century their contribution goes well beyond that particular incident. Similarly, they are able to illuminate the struggle between the Empress Matilda and King Stephen, while not neglecting the more conventional aspects of a bishop's career as diocesan and judge delegate. As a case study on schools and learning, it must be admitted, however, that Foliot provides a mirror sadly darkened, mainly because the places where he studied cannot be fixed.

Perhaps because this volume grew out of an introduction to a new edition of Gilbert's letters and charters (soon to be published), the authors have failed to give us a book that will stand alone. The full bibliography will only appear subsequently with the edited letters. There are also several footnote references to other books in process by various authors, leaving the serious reader (lacking the personal contacts of the authors) to suspend judgment on several points until these books are published. More seriously at fault is the curious organization by which the first six chapters follow the stages of Gilbert's career, only to have the later chapters double back to study certain aspects in depth. Consequently, the reader is given the same information in more or less detail in separate places and left with a blurred chronological impression. When individual chapters are so well and interestingly written, more attention might have been given to blending the parts into a reasonable whole. Grateful scholars turning to parts of the book may not complain, but the reader inclined to accept the work on its own terms has some reason for withholding his unqualified approval.

Duke University CHARLES R. YOUNG

ENGLAND WITHOUT RICHARD, 1189–1199. By *John T. Appleby.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1965. Pp. 248. $6.95.)

MR. Appleby's lively and detailed narrative of the years 1189–1199 follows the appearance of modern writing on the fifty years before Magna Carta that has revolutionized our approach to the problems of politics and government in this period. Some, but not all, of this is reflected in Appleby's approach. He still regards the political events in England during Richard's absence as essentially nothing more than a struggle for power. This is, of course, a fashionable interpretation of any period of medieval history, but in this case it tends to make the political conflicts so confused as to be almost meaningless.

Richard himself was the cause of much confusion, according to the author, by ill-considered measures for the government in his absence, followed by a "welter

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of contradictory orders." Longchamp, whom Richard trusted completely, created more confusion by proving to be a monster of arrogance and ambition; Appleby finds room for what is surely a caricature of him by Gerald of Wales. Prince John tried his best to plunge the country into civil war, and there is no sign that recent writing has redeemed his character in any way in Appleby's eyes. "Surprisingly enough," most of the English bishops "signed" a petition to the Pope supporting Longchamp, but one can only assume, it is argued, that they did so, not because they approved of him, but because they feared him. Similarly, the magnates saved the country from a repetition of the anarchy of Stephen's reign; but they supported John against Longchamp, who, until the new arrangements that Richard made at Messina, had been given, according to the author, almost unlimited power. They further agreed that the treacherous John be given the title of *rector totius regni,* which Appleby argues meant very little indeed; though the title of *rector regis et regni* in Henry III's minority brought the Earl Marshal considerable power. It was remembered and appealed to by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, in 1422. All this makes lively reading, but it does not often take us beneath the surface of events. Appleby does not discuss whether or not men had even a glimpse of deeper issues, and he makes no reference whatever to my article on the subject ("The Government of England during the Absence of Richard I on the Third Crusade," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* XXVIII [Dec. 1944], 485–509). There is great need for modern discussion of this question, such as that by Francis West in *The Justiciarship in England, 1066–1232* (1966).

Despite this limitation, Appleby ends with some important conclusions. The result of Richard's rule or, as is argued, failure to rule from abroad, was not bad but the reverse. Richard's neglect was England's good fortune. It made the barons develop a collective sense of responsibility for the right governance of the country. William Longchamp's deposition was only a short step from bringing the King himself to account when they found his rule intolerable. The substance of this judgment is hard to deny; it gives an enduring importance to the confusions and intrigues of these eventful years.

University of Toronto B. Wilkinson

OPEN-FIELD HUSBANDRY AND THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY: A STUDY OF AGRARIAN BY-LAWS IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. By *Warren O. Ault.* [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LV, Part 7.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1965. Pp. 102. $2.50.)

Although English village bylaws to regulate open-field husbandry had been known to date from at least the fourteenth century, scholars were long uncertain when such regulations were introduced. To resolve this and other questions connected with village bylaws, Professor Ault began a detailed study of manorial court rolls some thirty years ago. He has already published several articles on this topic; their primary conclusions remain unchanged in this latest study. This essay, based on impressive archival research, does give greater support to these earlier conclusions, but, in addition, indicates changes in English agricultural organiza-

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tion as reflected by shifts in emphasis of these bylaws from the thirteenth through the sixteenth century.

Bylaws, explicit or implied, appeared simultaneously with manorial court rolls in the thirteenth century, and while lists appeared more frequently in the rolls of later centuries, recording of bylaws was never usual. The only reasonable explanation is that of the author: bylaws were as old as open-field husbandry, and "most agrarian rules of procedure, as 'ancient custom,' went unrecorded." Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century bylaws concerned the harvest; rules about pasturage were notable later.

Bylaws, important in revealing what matters at any time or in any place were of prime concern to the village community, are equally important for what they reveal about that community. These ordinances were to assure the harvest. Freemen and serfs, motivated by economic interests rather than legal distinctions, made and enforced them together, under the leadership of lords whose authority gave effect to the regulations. Where village and manor coincided, the manorial court could be the place "to amend the rules of good order and to choose wardens for their better enforcement." Otherwise, village communities held their own meetings to settle these matters. Although no direct evidence for these "town meetings" is found until the sixteenth century, indirect evidence allows no other conclusion for earlier centuries.

This study of bylaws and their relation to open-field husbandry and to the village community represents the culmination of years of diligent and useful work in a field that Ault has made his own. Of particular value to students of English agrarian history is the appendix, forty-one pages of extracts from the rolls of thirty-seven manors.

Kenyon College ROBERT L. BAKER

DER ORDEN DER SCHWERTBRÜDER: FRATRES MILICIE CHRISTI DE LIVONIA. By *Friedrich Benninghoven.* [Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Number 9.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1965. Pp. xvi, 525. DM 65.)

DR. Benninghoven's book is the first serious modern attempt to write a full-scale history of the order of the Livonian Brothers of the Sword from their foundation in 1202 to their union with the Teutonic Order in 1237. In the nature of things, his task also involves a detailed treatment of the German expansion into the eastern Baltic during the first third of the thirteenth century.

The Livonian Brothers were a crusading military order, closely akin to the Templars, whose rule of life they adopted, and to the other military orders that were founded in order to further and stabilize the expansion of Western Christendom during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Benninghoven has attempted both to trace the rise, expansion, and general internal history of the Livonian Brothers and also to describe the origin and careers of 54 individual members of the order who can be identified during its short-lived history. There are additional notes on another 138 members of the Teutonic Order who may also have been survivors of the Livonian Brothers after the union of 1237.

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The book is a highly creditable contribution to the rapidly growing literature dealing with medieval Baltic history. The author's acquaintance with both the narrative and documentary sources for his subject is extensive and impressive, and he has used them sensitively and resourcefully. Benninghoven is also much concerned with defining the physical areas and extent of the order's holdings and devotes considerable attention to the topography of the regions in which the order was active. His book is provided with a splendid apparatus of detailed maps, sketches, and illustrations. An appendix is devoted to an attempt to estimate the size of the populations—Baltic, Scandinavian, and German—involved in the order's territorial holdings and the revenues extracted by the order from its subjects.

Benninghoven renounces any attempt to pass a moral judgment on the character of the Livonian Brothers' part in the thirteenth-century German expansion in the Baltic. He sums up his position in the words of the poet, Theodor Fontane, who said of the Templars:

> Grosse wie sind seine Schuld, so gross war auch seine Sühne . . .
> Schuldig oder nicht, mich überwältigt seine Grösse.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee JAMES A. BRUNDAGE

BORDEAUX SOUS LES ROIS D'ANGLETERRE. Under the direction of *Yves Renouard*. With the collaboration of *J. Bernard et al.* [Histoire de Bordeaux, Volume III.] (Bordeaux: Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest. 1965. Pp. 586.)

VERY capable historians who have been associated with the University of Bordeaux over the past decade or so display their abilities to advantage in this third volume of the "Histoire de Bordeaux." Unfortunately, this particular book is a memorial to one of them, Yves Renouard, who died in 1965 shortly before the manuscript went to press. In putting together the chapters dealing with every aspect of the life of a great medieval city, he was well served by his collaborators, Charles Higounet, J. Bernard, P. Capra, J. Gardelles, B. Guillemain, and J. P. Trabut-Cussac, all of whom are accomplished medievalists in their own fields of special interest.

There is a peculiar lacuna at the beginning of the book. The preceding volume, *Bordeaux pendant le Haut Moyen Âge* (1963), ended with the marriage of Eleanor to Henry Plantagenet; after a brief first chapter dealing with Bordeaux at the end of the twelfth century, the present volume resumes the story with King John's recognition of the commune in 1206. Therefore, little is said of Bordeaux under Henry II and Richard I. But the period from 1206 to the final capitulation of Bordeaux in 1453 is covered with great detail, energetic writing, and profound research.

While the surprises of the book are the fine chapters on religious life by Guillemain and on art by Gardelles, its major strength lies in the social, economic, and political sections, which is appropriate for urban history. The very terms of the chapter headings are the vocabulary of economic historians of the late Middle Ages: *essor, apogée, crise, stagnation, ralentissement, affaiblissement.* One begins to suspect, however, a possible weakness in the midst of this strength—that

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all aspects of human activity are being forced under one concept. All categories of endeavor are treated under the thirteenth-century *essor;* the same is true of the fourteenth-century *apogée.* This serves a fine didactical purpose and leaves the lines of historical development cleanly cut, but one wonders about the conceptual inclusiveness.

The book is far more than a survey, and a considerable portion of the text is drawn from unpublished materials in the Public Record Office. Bibliography and index are to follow in the last volume of this projected eight-volume series; the absence of these in the present work is compensated for by extensive footnotes and a detailed table of contents. Twelve maps, eighteen well-chosen plates, and tables of archbishops and mayors make it an attractive and more valuable book. The treatment is well balanced over two and a half centuries and over all possible topics. It is surely one of the best volumes on medieval urban history to appear in many years.

Ohio State University FRANKLIN J. PEGUES

L'ESPAGNE CATALANE ET LE MAGHRIB AUX XIII^e^ ET XIV^e^ SIÈCLES: DE LA BATAILLE DE LAS NAVAS DE TOLOSA (1212) À L'AVÈNEMENT DU SULTAN MÉRINIDE ABOU-L-HASAN (1331). By *Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq.* [Université de Bourdeaux et Casa de Velázquez. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études Hispaniques, Number 37.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1966. Pp. 664. 28 fr.)

THE fruit of lengthy investigations in the Barcelona and Majorcan archives, this substantial volume contains a wealth of new material and often brilliant analysis bearing upon the first phase of that Iberian expansionist interest in Africa which was to lead within two centuries to the circumnavigation of the continent, the opening of the sea road to India, and the discovery of America. In the thirteenth century it was the kings of Aragon and the merchants of Catalonia and the Balearics who were moving most rapidly to carry the medieval reconquest across the western Mediterranean into the domains of the three ruling Maghribi powers: Hafsid Ifriqiya, the Algerian sultanate of Tlemcen, and Merinid Morocco. The immediate aim was political suzerainty and economic domination rather than conquest; military interventions occurred, but the large crusade was avoided. Catalan-Aragonese penetration operated chiefly through the maintenance of close diplomatic ties, based on frequent dispatch of embassies and negotiations of treaties; the establishment of Catalan mercantile colonies (with consuls, fonduks, and clerics) in the treaty ports, to tap both local trade and Sudanese gold, slaves, ivory, and spices reaching Barbary from the trans-Sahara; the provision of revenue-producing corps of Hispano-Christian mercenaries for the Islamic rulers; and efforts to obtain ecclesiastical concessions. The whole narrative falls into three stages. The first is the generally successful period of political and commercial advances after Las Navas de Tolosa, which seemed to open the way for Iberian conquest of Barbary, down to 1275. In the years 1275–1295 this momentum was lost, with Aragonese involvements in the peninsula and Sicily and with the rise of Merinid military power. Finally, between 1295 and 1331, an equilibrium emerged;

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Catalan-Aragonese relations continued, but hopes of eventual subjugation of a firmly independent Maghrib faded away. This complex story of treaties, embassies, trade ties, and interventions is recounted in infinite detail, but Dufourcq also includes numerous illuminating pages on such general topics as commercial and financial techniques, Catalan coinage, types and cost of operation of ships, organization of overseas merchant communities, and the repeatedly successful blocking of royal military plans by pacifistic Catalan businessmen.

This is a richly informative book, placing in a fresh context our whole understanding of later medieval western Mediterranean history on both the African and Iberian shores.

University of Virginia C. J. Bishko

MICHAEL SCOT. By *Lynn Thorndike.* ([Edinburgh:] Nelson. 1965. Pp. 143. 30*s.*)

In the second volume of *A History of Magic and Experimental Science,* first published in 1923 and reprinted with corrections in 1929, Lynn Thorndike devoted thirty pages to Michael Scot, of whose life "but little can be said with certainty." Through the years he continued to hunt; the present treatment is a greatly expanded one which, though it cannot fully remedy such statements in Sarton's *Introduction to the History of Science* as "educated we don't know where," "these ascriptions are unproved," and "died at an unknown time, probably, c. 1235," it does present fairly and squarely the evidence that is now at hand to appraise the career of the phenomenal and mysterious Michael. It is Thorndike's last book, and he did not live to see it in its final form. Photocopies designated TR (Thorndike Rotographs) in it will henceforth be available to scholars in the Special Collections of Columbia University Library.

The book's great merit is that it sometimes paraphrases, sometimes translates, sometimes transcribes long passages from Scot's unpublished works. Only one part of his chief extant work was ever published; the *Physiognomia* in the list by Klebs runs to twenty incunabula editions. Scot's greatest influence in intellectual history was provided rather by his translations of Aristotelian commentaries of Averroës. To Scot as translator Thorndike devotes one chapter, but in spite of the fact that his book contains neither preface nor acknowledgments, Thorndike's main purpose is to use Scot's own works, not his translations, to reflect his fund of knowledge, the Western Christian view of nature and science in his time, and his personality. Scot speaks for himself in Thorndike's book more clearly and vividly than Thorndike or any other scholar could speak for him. Short of an arbitrary decision on which works are genuine and which spurious, and a critical edition of all that are genuine, this is the most satisfactory and enduring method of presenting an author to historians.

Thorndike has combed the manuscripts and is able to adduce significant passages on Scot's life, universe, meteorology, medicine, sociology, psychology and physiognomy, astrology, alchemy, and magic. He is on a few occasions an advocate, but the presentation is in general forthright and is accompanied by the necessary scholarly apparatus in footnotes that are really footnotes. The book is modestly

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printed; some typographical errors have slipped the press. It contains five illustrations from a manuscript at the Bodleian and four appendixes on manuscripts of *Liber particularis* and *Liber physiognomiae,* Scot and bibliography (which tells the reader exactly which authors Scot cited), *Questiones Nicolai Peripatetici,* and *Theorica planetarum.*

Cornell University Libraries DOROTHY M. SCHULLIAN

THE LORDS OF ROMAGNA: ROMAGNOL SOCIETY AND THE ORIGINS OF THE SIGNORIE. By *John Larner.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 322. $6.75.)

LACKING immediately perceptible and clearly defined aims, this volume leaves unresolved the question of the nature of the audience for whom it is intended. While at one level it reads as an enjoyable collection of colorful anecdotes, it apparently purports to be a scholarly study of important (but not always closely integrated) themes. The result is an elementary summary of such matters as the origins of the Romagnese signories and government, political, military, economic, social, and religious life in the Romagnese town and countryside of the thirteenth through the fifteenth century.

The first half of the book includes a brief survey of Romagnese economic geography, demography, and politics in the thirteenth century; "The Origins of Party Conflict" (about 1249 to 1279); "The Rule of Church and Tyrant," with brief sketches of some party and family contrasts; "The Honour of the Romagnols," with examples of Romagnese crimes, violence, and treachery. "Captaincy and Vicariate" treats the legitimization of signorial rule, based upon the reception of communal grants of authority and office by the *signori* in the first half of the fourteenth century, and, during the third quarter of the century, their acquisition of papal vicariates—hence, "full *signoria,*" defined as "*de iure* lordship in which there was no stigma of tyranny *ex defectu tituli*" or as "full recognition of their [the ruling families'] status and legitimacy by their appointment as papal vicars."

The second half of the book treats Romagnese towns and countryside, with a brief glance at religious life. The conclusion attacks the thesis that the wicked tyranny of the *signori* violently replaced a virtuous, free, democratic, communal society—a view hardly sustained by serious scholarship.

This work was produced under several handicaps not of the author's making: he has too few solid building blocks of reliable modern scholarship upon which to rely. Hence too many of his pictures are composite, created from elements of numerous communes and lordships, often from widely separated chronological periods. The book is more descriptive than analytical and at times arouses reservations by a lack of chronological development. J. K. Hyde, *Padua in the Age of Dante* (1966), and A. Vasina, *I Romagnoli fra autonomie cittadine e accentramento papale nell'età di Dante* (1964) (see *AHR,* LXXII [Oct. 1966], 161), more satisfying works, suggest that Larner might have been more successful had he treated a more limited region or a briefer chronological or topical span with greater depth and originality.

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The book is marked by broad and sweeping generalizations that are not supported by sufficient evidence and require further elaboration. Larner states, for example, that changes were made in the "esteems" (tax assessments) of urban and rural properties every two years—seemingly in all towns. If true, this is remarkable and indicates a financial organization and bureaucratic efficiency far superior to those of neighboring Tuscan cities, such as Pisa, Florence, and Siena, that have been the subject of recent scholarship. In an interesting appendix on population size and sources for it, the "esteems" are called "the best source for estimating population," but the author does not exploit or even describe them in detail. On page 106 Larner seems to say that throughout the thirteenth century all Romagnese "towns were not only willing but eager to accept as a citizen any peasant who came to them, provided only that he was not a serf from their own *contado*." Citizenship was a serious matter in thirteenth-century Italy. If, as is unlikely, it was so freely granted in all Romagnese towns throughout the century, this is of extreme interest and deserved to be dealt with at length.

At times the reader is uncertain of the author's control of his sources, archival and published. If indeed *dazi* and gabelles were one and the same, this merits an explanation, as it contrasts directly with far better-known situations in Tuscany. *Comitatinanza* is defined as "the expansion of the commune into the *contado* (itself described as 'the surrounding countryside')," and as "the process by which the commune of the town gained authority over its *contado*." G. de Vergottini, "Origini e sviluppo storico della comitatinanza" (*Studi Senesi,* XLIII [1929], 347–481), sees *comitatinanza* as "the normal relationship in which the rural territory finds itself with respect to the dominating city the political rights belonging to the inhabitants of the extra-urban territory subject to the city. . . ." Larner's "Glossary of Unfamiliar Words" only defines *"cavalcata"* as "the obligation of service on horseback with the militia of the commune." The term also designated, among other things, a raid or cavalry expedition, or a tax.

This volume can provide a survey for beginning students if used cautiously.

University of Nebraska WILLIAM M. BOWSKY

I ROMAGNOLI FRA AUTONOMIE CITTADINE E ACCENTRAMENTO PAPALE NELL'ETÀ DI DANTE. By *Augusto Vasina.* [VII Centenario della Náscita di Dante, Collana di Studi Storici, Number 3.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, Editore. 1964. Pp. xxv, 472.)

IN this study of Romagnese-papal relations from approximately the mid-thirteenth through the mid-fourteenth century the author focuses on the shifting balance between Romagnese strivings for communal autonomy and papal efforts to subject the Romagna to centralized control. Although his principal emphasis is upon diplomatic and military history, Vasina succeeds well in weaving important religious, social, and economic themes into his story. Particularly illuminating are brief but provocative analyses of the Romagnese church and clergy, and their relations with the papacy and its representatives, and discussions of the origins and development of the signory in the Romagna. Vasina offers stimulating interpretations of numerous vicissitudes in the history of a complex and varied region of

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Italy without imposing an artificial pattern upon them or descending to generalizations so broad as to be meaningless.

The book is chronological in approach, comprehending approximately the period 1248–1350, with detailed concentration upon the years 1272–1321. Vasina suggests that the phenomenon of the transfer to the Romagna of members of the papal family and of other foreigners began in the mid-thirteenth century, and that thenceforth the papacy increasingly tried to achieve systematic control of episcopal elections and to substitute friends of the *Curia* and experienced politicians for local prelates in the province, thereby creating tensions between the local clergy and their new bishops. Vasina also underlines the problems created by papal opposition to the expansion of the Romagnese communes into their surrounding districts. Chapter IV unfolds the seesaw struggle for political predominance during the pontificate of the French Pope Martin IV and the initiation of this philo-Angevin's rigid authoritarian policies to 1283. Chapter V shows how papal attempts at centralization met with renewed Romagnese resistance during the remainder of Martin's pontificate (1283–1285). The succeeding pontificate of the Roman Honorius IV (1285–1287) was marked by the liquidation of Martin IV's centralizing policies without the substitution of a new coherent policy. Owing in large part to papal need for Tuscan bankers, Tuscan and especially Florentine economic and political interests strongly penetrated the Romagna. There was an increase in the number of Tuscans among papal functionaries, and in the role played in the province by powerful Roman families, while the Angevin element diminished. Chapter VI treats the pontificate of Nicholas IV (1288–1292), the papal interregnum, and the ill-fated regime of Celestine V. Nicholas' unsuccessful attempts to utilize the Tuscan-Romagnese counts da Romena to maintain a hold on the province provoked a brief period of Romagnese solidarity and the creation of an antipapal league. The increased role conceded the cardinals in the Papal States complicated the Romagnese problem. This chapter contains useful examinations of papal economic policy, and of the politico-social effects of the profeudal policies of the noble Da Romena vicar upon the Romagnese communes. Chapter VII, "Boniface VIII and the Romagna," demonstrates that the vigorous programs of Boniface resulted in exposing the Church's weaknesses, as the Pope tried to concentrate into his own hands control and government of the Papal States without utilizing curial apparatus as a buffer between ruler and ruled. Chapter VIII, "The Avignon Papacy and the Government of the Romagna (1305–1326)," includes discussions of the psychological and geographical problems created by the transfer of the papacy from Rome to Avignon; of the rectorate of Robert of Anjou; of the detachment of Bologna from the Romagna; and of the renewed "Gallicanization" of the Romagnese rectorship and its spread to the provincial episcopate by Pope John XXII. The war for Ferrara (1308–1313) and the imperial expedition of Henry VII (1310–1313) led the papacy to see that it must coordinate its entire Italian policy. John XXII (1316–1334) in particular realized that, together with the Tuscan banks, the Papal States (including the Romagna) formed a vital link between Avignon and the Angevin kingdom in southern Italy. But even the moral regime of Pope Benedict XII (1334–1342) and his recognition and legitimization of the Romagnese signories came too late,

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while the renewed bellicosity and nepotism of Pope Clement VI (1342–1352) further weakened the papal position in the Romagna.

This volume, based on substantial research in published and archival sources, is buttressed by nine appendixes which include a listing of apostolic legations to the Romagna (1247–1343) and another of the names and, when known, places of origin of major officials of the Romagnese communes (1250–1321).

This is a rich and provocative study. From it and other recent scholarly publications there begins to emerge a new, more complete, documented, accurate, and sophisticated picture of the Romagna in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance.

University of Nebraska WILLIAM M. BOWSKY

PERPETUAL CHANTRIES IN BRITAIN. Based on the Birkbeck Lectures, 1954–5. By *K. L. Wood-Legh*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 356. $12.50.)

HERE is the most ambitious study that has yet appeared on the subject of chantries in medieval England. The author does not pretend, however, that hers is a definitive treatment of this institution. She hopes only to present "a reasonably clear map showing the main features of the subject and its place in medieval life," and this she accomplishes admirably.

The chantry may be defined as an endowment for the maintenance of a priest (or priests) to celebrate Masses, usually for the soul of the founder. Because no medieval institution suffered so complete a demise with the coming of the Protestant Reformation, even in countries that remained faithful to Rome, writers have generally underestimated its importance. Miss Wood-Legh shows that the establishment of chantries was a popular practice, and many readers will agree with her in holding the fact of its popularity, which involved the expenditure of so much money and time in an effort to appease an angry God, as the most convincing evidence of a decadent Christianity.

The author describes the different forms of chantries, this depending principally on the status of the priest, the cantarist; the character of foundation charters, all of which normally required license from the crown after the statute of mortmain in 1279; the administration of chantries, which was generally left to relatives; and the impoverishment of chantries after the mid-fourteenth century, a development the author attributes to the mounting cost of chantry priests following the ravages of the Black Death. She introduces a chapter on the qualifications of chantry priests and their conduct, and in this connection questions the interpretation generally placed upon the strictures of Langland and Chaucer. These poets condemned not chantry priests for running off to London, but rather members of the unbeneficed clergy who, human nature being what it is, preferred a permanent post in a city chantry to the casual work and compensation they might receive in some rural parish. The author considers the aging cantarist, the material aspects of the chantry priest's life, and, of course, his spiritual responsibilities.

Since Wood-Legh has not exhaustively searched the mass of pertinent contemporary evidence, she has left to later scholars the task of providing statistics

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concerning such matters as the prevalence of certain practices (and abuses) and the number of chantries and their distribution about England. Some readers may consider the number of illustrations the author introduces and their length as excessive. One may also question the necessity of including both the translation and original of documents that lack intrinsic importance and whose precise meaning is not a matter of dispute.

Pennsylvania State University JOSEPH DAHMUS

DIE WIENER ARTISTENFAKULTÄT, 1365–1497. By *Alphons Lhotsky*. [Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, Volume CCXLVII. Abhandlung, Number 2.] (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1965. Pp. 273. Sch. 244.)

LHOTSKY's detailed history of the philosophical faculty (*facultas artium*) of the University of Vienna from its founding by Duke Rudolph IV in 1365 to the end of the fifteenth century is both a valuable contribution to our knowledge of medieval universities and a helpful history of European ideas during the late Middle Ages. The Austrian Academy of Sciences dedicated the volume to the University of Vienna on the occasion of its six hundredth anniversary. Included is a commemorative lecture on the historical background of the "Rudolphina," delivered to the philosophical faculty.

The author's preface makes it clear that he has no intention of writing a history of the university as a whole since this has been ably done by Kink, Aschbach, Denifle, and Redlich, among others, but wishes to concentrate on that faculty which set the educational patterns for the entire university. Although he does not claim that his work is definitive, it is an outstanding study, based on the examination of many unpublished tractates, scholarly disputations, commentaries, and sermons in the state libraries of Vienna and Munich. He is especially well equipped for this task because of his long preoccupation with the intellectual history of medieval Austria.

The introduction contains the first adequate account of the origins of the philosophical faculty. Lhotsky shows that it did not develop out of any of the higher schools in Vienna, but was created *de novo*. The foundation letter, he explains, was not carelessly thrown together, but constitutes a first-class, independent literary achievement by an unknown author, written in both Latin and German.

The author devotes his first chapter to the development of the philosophical faculty from the completion of its statutes of 1389 to 1440, describing in detail its administrative organization, underlying philosophy, curriculum, and teaching methods, pointing out that the main concern was not research but the dissemination of knowledge. In the second chapter, covering the years 1440–1460, he analyzes the reaction of the faculty to its first contacts with humanism, strongly encouraged by the imperial and ducal courts and best represented in Vienna by Aeneas Silvius, and gives an illuminating account of the teaching of the natural sciences. The last chapter brings this study down to the calling of Conrad Celtis to Vienna in 1497 and to the creation of the first chair for poetry and rhetoric at the university. The value of the study is enhanced by the inclusion in

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the appendix of the foundation letter of 1365, the statutes of the philosophical faculty of 1389, and the disputation of Silvius in Vienna in 1445.

Ohio State University HAROLD J. GRIMM

JOHN HUS' CONCEPT OF THE CHURCH. By *Matthew Spinka.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 432. $12.00.)

ACCORDING to the preface the principal aim of this work is to present Hus's teaching on the Church, which was central to his thinking. There was, indeed, no problem in the Czech reformer's biography that called for an analytical study so urgently as his ecclesiology. Hus's attempts to arrive at a satisfactory definition of the Church did not originate in purely academic speculation, but sprang from, and were greatly stimulated by, his concern for the remedy of evils afflicting Western Christendom during the Great Schism. Hus's Latin treatise *De ecclesia* has been recognized as his most important theological writing, far more lively and incisive than his lengthy commentaries on standard theological manuals. In that evaluation of *De ecclesia* his opponents were at one with his admirers, each group drawing, of course, different conclusions from the recognition of the significance of the book.

Professor Spinka's monograph appears as a companion volume to his masterly translation of documents relating to Hus's trial and death. It is mildly polemical as the author frequently confronts his own interpretation of Hus's statements with the views propounded by other scholars. Apart from the Czech and German authors, the more recent studies of Hus's life and doctrine by Dom Paul de Vooght are frequently referred to, once positively and then again negatively, but always with due recognition of the Belgian Benedictine's scholarly competence.

It goes without saying that the treatise *De ecclesia* was the author's chief source of information. But as it was not the only contribution that Hus made, other writings and sermons were also excerpted and used as supporting material. In the tense atmosphere prevailing in Prague in the early fifteenth century it was almost impossible to open a dispute on a problem so vital and perplexing as the concept of the Church without arousing opposition and thus splitting the learned circles that existed there. Supported by his wide knowledge of the polemical literature, written partly in Latin and partly in old Czech, Spinka has produced an exhaustive survey of ideological struggles in which the staunch supporters of the papal authority clashed with Hus in whose view "the Church was a spiritual entity, the fellowship of the saints, the body of Christ." One of the worthiest results of the author's decision to consult not only Hus's principal work but to quote extensively also from the writings of his foes is the conclusion that Hus's concept of the Church was not born in the heat of passionate debates with the conservative members of the Faculty of Divinity to which the conflict over the indulgences gave rise in 1412, but that his views developed gradually and organically out of a systematic occupation with the need for Church reform.

This book is a profound, well-balanced study, rich in detail and convincing in its emphasis on the unity and continuity of Hus's thought. Written with vigor and absolute mastery of the problems involved, it is destined for a wider audience

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than specialists in late medieval theology. It is topical in that it contributes to a critical evaluation of many problems revitalized by the current ecumenical trends.

University of Pennsylvania OTAKAR ODLOZILIK

Modern Europe

INTERNATIONAL HISTORY OF CITY DEVELOPMENT. Volume II, URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE ALPINE AND SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES. By *E. A. Gutkind*. (New York: Free Press. 1965. Pp. xviii, 499. $25.00.)

THE second volume of Gutkind's study has to do mainly with countries that, apart from Denmark, include much upland terrain: Austria, Switzerland, Norway, and Sweden (Finland will be grouped with East European states and the Soviet Union in a later volume). Almost as much space is devoted to the Northern group as to the Alpine. Most of the narrative material is composed of summaries (usually brief) of topographical, climatological, and historical factors that have shaped each urban community, treating some ninety towns for the Alpine areas and forty-five for the Northern.

These surveys, with relevant illustrative material, are grouped according to country, and at the head of each national group appear accounts of "the land," the history, and the pattern of settlement. These accounts, necessarily encyclopedic in format, come off less well than could be hoped, mainly because the discourse often is not well focused in terms of the central theme. In particular the historical summaries seem rather haphazardly assembled from often outdated materials (for example, the data given on the Battle of Hafrsfjord). For the Northern countries, despite the somewhat generous bibliography, there has apparently been little direct use made of the many studies on urban history in recent decades by Scandinavian scholars.

It may be significant that the survey material generally pays only fitful, even at times very scant, attention to urban changes stemming from mercantilist policies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries or from proliferating industrialization in the nineteenth and twentieth. This in turn is perhaps related to a mark of uncertainty about generalizing effectively from the mass of concrete data available on the subject, or about the role of the "imponderables" that have helped to shape the urban pattern of a particular period or area.

Quite obviously the author is deeply immersed in his subject. Yet he communicates his thought best through his presentation of the graphic material; this is what gives distinction to the study. There are about five hundred illustrations, of which some fifty are full page. The range of selection is wide: plans of pristine townsites, early prints and engravings of town prospects and landscapes, detailed exposures from traditional photography, and effective terrain studies through modern aerial photography. Much of this material is of splendid quality. Frequent use of wide margins for the text material helps make the work a fine

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example of book production. Students of several specialties, beyond architecture and town planning, will find this a very useful graphic reference work.

New York University OSCAR J. FALNES

NAPOLEON'S SATELLITE KINGDOMS. By *Owen Connelly*. (New York: Free Press. 1965. Pp. xix, 387. $8.95.)

A SYNTHESIS may be the hardest kind of history to write. Professor Connelly, however, steers a sure course between the Scylla of superficial popularization and the Charybdis of pedantic scholarship. His book contains a feast for the specialist, yet it is written well and carefully enough to be attractive even to the novice.

The volume deals with the kingdoms over which Napoleon set relatives and covers the years 1805–1815. It includes mention of what replaced the kingdoms and discusses the results of Napoleonic domination. Each kingdom receives a chapter; Naples, one for each king. Within the chapters the author gives the background to the formation of the kingdoms, a fascinating picture of the relationships between Napoleon and his relatives, and appropriate discussions of internal developments and, where necessary, of foreign affairs. A chapter of conclusions follows three chapters dealing with the decline and demise of Bonapartist control.

There are fourteen maps and an index. Although the bibliography is modestly called "select," it occupies twenty-eight pages. Its very completeness exposes the gaps in recent writing on territories subordinate to Napoleon and thereby reveals the valuable contribution of this book, obviously based on wide reading. Any defects are minor: there are a few compositional errors; sometimes the author deals with activities of individuals instead of with the kingdoms; occasional lengthy lists of names serve no useful purpose.

The account is analytical as well as narrative. The author properly makes interpretations and draws conclusions. It is not surprising to read that Eugene was the best of the satellite rulers; more unexpected, though well substantiated, is the high rating given to Jerome. Connelly concludes that Napoleon did not "rob" the satellite states, that they were, rather, an expense to him. The idea most frequently stressed is that Napoleon was aiming at a "Roman Empire" in which the satellite kingdoms would have been merely numerous departments; except for Holland, they were saved by the Russian threat starting in 1810. That Napoleon wanted this kind of empire in order to combat national feelings in the various localities is, however, questionable. There are other debatable generalizations, but most of the interpretations and conclusions are justifiable. It would have been easy for the author to be favorable to either Napoleon or to the kings; he is neither, and remains objective. The last chapter contains an interesting discussion on whether Napoleon or the kings were the more liberal and humane. But this review cannot adequately indicate the wealth of information and thought-provoking interpretation in the volume.

Louisiana State University ROBERT B. HOLTMAN

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MIDDLINGNESS: *JUSTE MILIEU* POLITICAL THEORY IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND, 1815–48. By *Vincent E. Starzinger.* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1965. Pp. xiii, 158. $4.00.)

Mr. Starzinger's intriguing title is exact. In examining principally Royer-Collard and Guizot in France and Brougham and Macaulay in England (rather more the latter than the former in each case), his book is a commentary on the nature and fortunes of the *juste-milieu* between 1815 and 1848 and, by extension, on the validity of "moderation" in all politics. He suggests, for instance, that when extremes are far apart, making the call to moderation most valuable, moderation has its least chance of success; on the other hand, when it is most likely to succeed —in the absence of any great disparity between extremes—there is the least reason for society to concern itself with avoiding those extremes. The point is hardly surprising, once stated, but it is good to have it so neatly argued and summarized in so nice a paradox. Again, he argues that, far from being rationalizations of simple class interests, these bourgeois theories were marked by greater or lesser degrees (depending on which side of the Channel is in question) of illusion about the reality of the society they assumed and to which they were ostensibly addressed. Or, for a third example, he finds a fundamental weakness of middlingness in its inability to assimilate change, a hardly avoidable conclusion when one contemplates the flight of Guizot in 1848 or the ultimate decline of the Whigs (or the Liberals), but it is argued here from an analysis of political thought which, while it may not be impressive technically, is important historically because it mirrors the minds of men in power.

In so brief a book Starzinger must forego more history than is necessary to sketch a broad background; it serves rather to test his subjects' theories than to provide a context for them. It is a pity that he had so to limit himself. To speak only of England, where I can claim some authority, Starzinger's views of English society in the thirty years after 1815 seem about a generation out of date: the Victorian middle classes were far more complex than he allows—drawing his illustration only from novelists and travelers—and he unaccountably overlooks both religion and administration, which lent their very different authority and impulses to some of the developments he describes. But while on some heads—Chartism and the Anti-Corn-Law League, for example—he needs to see more complexity, on at least one point he probably could avoid the strain of a complicated and portentous argument: his attempt to explain the fall of Brougham. But it is carping to expect Starzinger to succeed on that point, when everyone else has failed so far and probably will fail in the future, too.

These objections are, so to speak, external to the definition that Starzinger has given to his essay; one flaw, though occasional, is inescapable, no matter what expectations one brings. Starzinger writes well, but from time to time he slips into a ghastly jargon: "societal factors," "value consensus," "positional ideology." It jars; it is unnecessary; and it spoils what, with its abounding suggestion and often strikingly epigrammatic formulations, would otherwise be a book of the greatest elegance.

Columbia University R. K. Webb

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LE CONFERENZE E LA PACE DI ZURIGO NEI DOCUMENTI DIPLOMATICI FRANCESI. Series 3, 1848–1860. Volume I (11–12 LUGLIO 1859–24 GIUGNO 1860). Edited by *Armando Saitta.* [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814–1860. Part 3, Rapporti tra Stati Europei. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, Number 74.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1965. Pp. x, 410. L. 4,000.)

THE figure and the policies of Napoleon III have been the objects of widely differing interpretations. This volume will provide some clarification in one instance.

The war of 1859 had its origin, among other things, in Napoleon's desire to accomplish a double objective: the displacement of Austrian influence by French in Italy through the promotion of Italian nationalism. Villafranca gave an unexpected turn to events, and the purpose of the Zurich conference was to implement the agreement between the two Emperors. The major part of the book reproduces the exchanges between Paris and the French negotiators. The issues of the precise frontier and of the Sardinian share of the debt consumed much time and effort; they were essentially secondary matters eventually adjusted through bargaining and compromise.

Of greater interest was the question of the future organization of Italy. This was a European problem in which the main belligerents agreed that the neutrals had an interest; the ratification by the powers in congress of the modification of the status of Italy, as it had been arranged in 1815, seemed a logical procedure. The question was much discussed among the chancelleries of Europe. But Villafranca did not mean that Napoleon's purpose was abandoned: hence the proposal that Venetia join in an all-Italian confederation, with a status similar to that of Luxembourg in the Germanic, thus making Austria part of the former as it was of the latter.

But would this not leave Austria in a position of dominance in Italy? That question was related to that of the fate of the duchies. It is clear that Napoleon was quite amenable to the dispossession of the existing dynasties in the duchies, in which outcome he would have had Palmerston's acquiescence, while the Tsar was understandably unsympathetic, and Austria opposed most of all. Underneath the polite language of diplomacy one perceives the suspicion of Napoleon's operation, mixed at times with a certain admiration for what was regarded by some as his ability to maintain friendship with all while creating dissension everywhere. In the end nothing came of the European congress proposal, overtaken by the *fait accompli* of Italian events.

The lack of Walewski's papers, as the editor observes, is regrettable, especially in view of the divergence bettween his own and Napoleon's views. Somewhat careless editing is a minor, but also regrettable, fault of this book which remains otherwise an interesting and useful contribution.

Barnard College RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ

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BRIEFWECHSEL, 1850–1890. Volume II, 1869–1870. By *Ignaz von Döllinger* and *Lord Acton*. Edited by *Victor Conzemius*. [Ignaz von Döllinger, Briefwechsel, 1820–1890. Volume II. Herausgegeben von der Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1965. Pp. x, 466.)

Turning chiefly on the Vatican Council, the second volume (Volume I reviewed in *AHR*, LXX [Apr. 1965], 521) of this correspondence contributes, directly or indirectly, to such subjects as the proceedings of the council itself; the diplomatic activity of various countries behind the scenes; the views of British statesmen and churchmen, particularly Gladstone, Odo Russell, and Manning; Acton's published accounts of the council; and aspects of the prehistory of the *Kulturkampf* in Germany. The merest indications can be given here.

Acton reports having pressed the following argument on the Prussian ambassador, Count Arnim: "If the Dogma [of infallibility] is accepted the Prussian government will either have to depose the opponents and become the instrument of Roman tyranny, or it will have to support them and take up a hostile attitude to Rome. Is it not better to avert such a situation by wisely supporting the opposition while there is still time?" Russell's independence from Manning, contrary to the interpretation popularized by Lytton Strachey, is once more confirmed, notwithstanding his general disagreement with Acton. Döllinger praises Cardinal Newman's *Grammar of Assent* and predicts that it will meet with more approval from religious Protestants than from ultramontane Catholics. Gladstone complained to Döllinger that he had to take account of a strong faction in England that would regard a *reductio ad absurdum* of the Church as a godsend, and Döllinger adds: "Protestant theologians in Germany talk similarly." Acton's zeal to provide the minority bishops with ammunition is apparent throughout. In the last letter of the volume, written after his famous article in the *North British Review* of October 1870, Acton still stresses the need to combat the impression that the minority bishops eventually abandoned their opposition. This collection, well edited with full, useful, and well-informed notes on the text (though with inadequate cross references), provides much interesting research material. The editor himself announces a narrative account of the European powers and the council in preparation.

University of Keele W. M. Simon

SSSR–ANGLIIA, 1929–1945 GG.: ANGLO-SOVETSKIE OTNOSHENIIA NAKANUNE I V PERIOD VTOROI MIROVOI VOINY [The USSR and England, 1929–1945: Anglo-Soviet Relations on the Eve of and during the Second World War]. By *F. D. Volkov*. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniia." 1964. Pp. 558.)

This is the third volume in a series by the same author dealing with Anglo-Soviet relations. He makes it clear at the outset that he intends to unmask the policy of British imperialism as "aggressive" and to praise the "peace-loving foreign policy" of the Soviet Union. Since the author accepts a "devil theory" it is not surprising

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that he makes many unfounded assertions. Thus he declares that "in aggression against the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese people . . . the English and American imperialists saw the Japanese military as their principal ally"; "English monopolists" are blamed for having made possible Hitler's rise to power; British foreign policy was directed toward the "suffocation" of the Spanish Republic. Churchill is depicted as a villain except for his urging a firmer policy against Hitler in the thirties. Churchill and Roosevelt alone are said to have advocated the dismemberment of Germany at the Tehran Conference while the Soviet position is incorrectly said to have been in defense of Germany's national interests.

The length of the work and the hundreds of footnotes cannot compensate for the intemperate language, deliberate omissions, certain unwarranted conclusions, and outright distortions. This is all the more regrettable because the author has assembled many significant data on the more ordinary aspects of Anglo-Soviet relations. He has even employed certain British memoirs, *Parliamentary Debates,* and the British press, although he detracts from this by relying excessively on *Pravda* and the *Daily Worker* in discussing the actions and motives of foreign governments. His use of certain Soviet archives (*Arkhiv vneshnei politiki SSSR*) reveals little about the formulation of Soviet policy and its motives.

Volkov has accomplished the remarkable feat of writing a lengthy volume on Soviet foreign relations without quoting the principal architect of Soviet policy during this period, although Churchill is frequently quoted. Indeed, direct mention of Stalin is made only in reference to his presence at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences; he is not directly identified as being at Tehran. Despite the author's exaggerated compliance with the campaign against the "cult of personality," this is, unfortunately, diplomatic history written in the spirit of the cold war and in terms of Marxist-Leninist categories.

University of Washington JOHN S. RESHETAR, JR.

STOSUNKI POLSKO-NIEMIECKIE, 1933–1938 [Polish-German Relations, 1933–1938]. By *Marian Wojciechowski.* [Studium Niemcoznawcze Instytutu Zachodniego, Number 9.] (Poznań: the Instytut. 1965. Pp. 571. Zł. 95.)

THIS study—the third in the projected four-volume history of Polish-German relations between the two world wars—provides the fullest and best account to date of those relations in the crucial period from Hitler's rise to power until November 1938. Based on extensive research in the Archives of the Polish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts* in Bonn and in the archives of the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* in Munich, and on all the published collections of documents and the memoir literature, Wojciechowski's book surpasses Hans Roos's excellent study and is clearly superior to J. Krasuski's two volumes covering the Weimar period.

The book is divided into five parts. In the first part Wojciechowski describes "the change in the orientation and political tactics of Poland and Germany," resulting in the nonaggression declaration of 1934. Distrustful of France, Marshal Piłsudski took advantage of the change of regime in Germany in order to emancipate Poland from French tutelage, to bring about a *modus vivendi* with Germany,

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and to establish a balance between Germany and the Soviet Union. Wojciechowski relegates to the realm of legends the story of Piłsudski's repeated attempts to initiate a preventive war with Germany in 1933. The Polish dictator clearly preferred the government of Hitler to its Weimar predecessors. In the second part of the study, "Poland and Germany in the Years of the Struggle for Collective Security in Europe," Wojciechowski explains why and how Warsaw in collusion with Berlin torpedoed the "East Locarno" plan. The third part deals with Polish-German relations in the "era of popular fronts," when Germany made the first attempts to subordinate Poland to itself. Poland resisted, but still clung to Germany. Beck's endeavors to create a bloc of East-Central European states under Polish leadership were based on hopeless wishful thinking. In the fourth part Wojciechowski traces German-Polish cooperation in the period of "appeasement," particularly during the Czechoslovak crisis. In the last short part he describes the German attempt at *Globallösung* with Poland in October 1938. There are succinct summaries in Russian and German and a ten-page bibliography.

Balanced in judgment, well organized, thoroughly documented, and lucidly written, this is an excellent study, in the best tradition of solid and objective scholarship.

University of Hawaii ZYGMUNT J. GASIOROWSKI

PIUS XII AND THE THIRD REICH: A DOCUMENTATION. By *Saul Friedländer*. Translated from the French and German by *Charles Fullman*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1966. Pp. xxiv, 238, v. $4.95.)

THE attitude of Pius XII toward the Third *Reich* has been in dispute since Rolf Hochhuth's play, *The Deputy,* appeared in Germany in 1962. The question is why Pius XII did not protest more vigorously the Germans' destruction of minorities in occupied Europe, especially the annihilation of the Jews. The controversy is difficult to resolve, partly because of its deep emotional and religious aspects, partly because the results of a strong papal protest in Berlin can never be known. The pro-Vatican faction asserts that had the Pope protested more vigorously the fate of the Jews would have become worse; the anti-Vatican faction believes that, if nothing else, the Jews would have had a timely warning.

A historical assessment now is difficult because the source material is overwhelmingly one-sided. The German documentation is extensive and readily available; the Vatican side, despite two volumes of published documents, is closed to outsiders. There are, furthermore, the often repeated charges that diplomatic reports, especially those written under the Nazi regime, are unreliable because their authors wrote only what their superiors wanted to read. Finally, how much can documents alone contribute to an understanding of so complex a problem? Friedländer is fully aware of these obstacles. "No definite conclusions can be drawn without knowledge of the Vatican documents," he warns, but "the German documents, and the picture of the situation they give, have an undeniable historical value," and thus will contribute to our understanding of the problem. By scrutinizing the personalities of the key German diplomats, Weizsäcker and

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Bergen, by comparing the German documents with others (primarily American and British) on the same general subject for the same period, and by examining the internal evidence of the documentation presented, Friedländer concludes that the reports by the German diplomats were essentially reliable.

Satisfied that the available material has value and is genuine despite its limitations, Friedländer proceeds to print those documents, primarily from the archives of the German Foreign Ministry, that describe the relationship between the Holy See and the German *Reich* from March 1939 to September 1944. To the documentary text he adds background material and some interpretation.

Short of a survey of the archives in Bonn, it would seem that all the important German documents were included. These are supplemented by some hitherto unpublished documents from the Zionist archives, by some previously printed American and British documents, and by quotations from other works.

The author makes a major effort to be fair and impartial in his presentation. Unfortunately, therefore, the few slips and omissions that do occur may detract from this effort. In such a documentary presentation, any omissions in the text of documents, however trivial, arouse suspicion; thus, it would have been wiser to print only complete documents. It would also have been advantageous to give serial and frame numbers of those documents that were microfilmed, and a more careful check would have eliminated some minor mistakes in the footnote references, such as the one about the "Note from the Curia" of January 18, 1942, which is in the Foreign Ministry Archives and has been microfilmed (818/277599-609).

In the end, rather than drawing conclusions, Friedländer stresses two points on which "the German documents show impressive agreement: the Pope's great sympathy and understanding for Germany and his fear of a bolshevization of Europe." As the author has acknowledged, this is a limited, one-sided study of a complicated problem. One can only join him in the plea that the essential missing documents will soon be made available, "so that events and personages can be brought into proper perspectives."

Washington, D. C. GEORGE O. KENT

SHERINGTON: FIEFS AND FIELDS OF A BUCKINGHAMSHIRE VILLAGE. By *A. C. Chibnall.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xxiii, 303. $15.00.)

DR. Chibnall's history of Sherington is a welcome addition to the steady output of works on individual English communities. His account is carefully based on archival sources and largely avoids the antiquarian, anecdotal approach that has often characterized works of this type. Although necessarily brief and speculative on the early Roman and Anglo-Saxon settlements, and somewhat perfunctory on the period since the common fields of Sherington were enclosed in 1796–1797, he has been able to reconstruct the economic development of the village and to trace the histories of its principal lords, as well as many of the smaller freeholders and tenants, from the early twelfth century. The four chief estates into which

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Sherington was divided by 1300 were largely dispersed among the small holders in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. From about 1700 there were a sharp decline in resident freeholders as compared to tenant farmers and a concomitant tendency to consolidate land under absentee ownership, processes that prompted the Enclosure Act of 1796. While Chibnall has only infrequently attempted to place his findings in a wider perspective, this kind of detailed examination provides the essential basis for more general studies of English rural society.

The book is pleasantly written, and it has been lavishly and expertly produced by the Cambridge University Press. Three detailed maps showing the distribution of fields around 1300, 1580, and 1950 are of particular value in providing a sense of basic continuity, despite the many changes in landownership, in the history of the village. Unfortunately, there is no adequate map to show the relation of Sherington to larger communities in Buckingham or neighboring shires, and the index consists largely of a list of proper names. There is no bibliography. This book should prove of considerable interest to students of both medieval and more modern English local history.

University of Michigan MICHAEL ALTSCHUL

FAIRS, SHOPS, AND SUPERMARKETS: A HISTORY OF ENGLISH SHOPPING. By *Dorothy Davis.* [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 322. $6.75.)

FIVE years ago, moved by the laudable design of infusing vitality into a notoriously anemic field, Routledge and Kegan Paul launched "Studies in Social History." The fifteen volumes that have since appeared include both highly scholarly surveys and erudite thematic works. Mrs. Davis' history of shopping has now inexplicably been admitted to this estimable company.

Such a study has long been needed; except for J. B. Jefferys' excellent survey of the period 1850–1950, the history of retail distribution in England has received no general treatment. To supply this lack, the author examines retailing from the Middle Ages to the present day. Beginning with discussions of medieval town markets and fairs, she proceeds by considering in turn the growth of London as a shopping center in Elizabethan times, the purchase of food and other goods there in the seventeenth century, the methods of vending and buying in the countryside at that period, and the means by which the Restoration gentleman secured his luxuries. She then describes the development of retailing in the eighteenth century, touching on such diverse matters as the improvement of shop premises, the buyer's dependence on the seller's integrity, and the absence of fixed prices. Rounding out her account of the epoch, she devotes separate sections to the purchases made by the London poor, the shopping methods of a country gentleman's family, and the advent of itinerant dealers. She next treats the persistence of traditional forms of retailing in the nineteenth century. Finally, she outlines the principal innovations of the last hundred years: the standardization of goods and the proliferation of multiple stores and department stores.

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Unfortunately, the study is replete with serious defects. Although ostensibly a work of scholarship, it is avowedly directed to the general reader. Accordingly, its character is purely descriptive, its structure markedly capricious, and its documentation strikingly sparse. The research on which it is based, moreover, is not impressive. As the fruits of that research clearly indicate, the author has relied heavily on secondary sources; and she not always used them with discrimination. Nor has she explored the available primary sources with vigor; many of those she cites are extremely hackneyed. In sum, the study has more value as a *divertissement* than as a contribution to social history.

Kew Gardens, New York J. JEAN HECHT

ORDER, EMPIRICISM AND POLITICS: TWO TRADITIONS OF ENGLISH POLITICAL THOUGHT, 1500–1700. By *W. H. Greenleaf*. (New York: Oxford University Press for the University of Hull. 1964. Pp. vi, 299. $6.75.)

THE primary concern of Greenleaf's book is the way men thought about politics mainly in England and mainly from the reign of Elizabeth I to the reign of Anne. His thesis is that the period in question saw the gradual subversion of a world view, "the idea of order," based on the notion of the great chain of being and of ordered correspondences among the hierarchies of subgroups that constitute the chain. What subverted it was the rise of empiricism, which emphasized experience and observation as against deduction from a vast cosmological hypothesis. Further, Greenleaf asserts a correspondence of his own: to the idea of order, he alleges, there corresponded a political theory of order, and it was a theory of royal absolutism; to empiricism in general there corresponded a political theory occasionally antiroyalist and always antiabsolutist, that maintained the idea of limited monarchy.

Greenleaf's study is a touching example of what happens when a patient, careful, and thoroughly honest scholar overcommits himself to a hypothesis almost wholly untenable. What happens in effect is a plunging theoretical advance followed by a series of unplanned withdrawals in confrontation with adverse evidence, for Greenleaf never disregards the evidence even when it refuses to conform to his theory. The result, although he is never quite conscious of it, is that he abandons piecemeal the theory he adopted wholesale, and in the end we are no further along to understanding than we were at the outset. One trouble is that with few exceptions and painful regularity, which in each specific case Greenleaf conscientiously calls to our attention, instead of decently staying to one side or the other of the dichotomous order-empiricism net that he has reared, many of the main players in his game pop up first on one side of it and then on the other without a decent show of embarrassment or even awareness that a net is there at all. This makes it pretty hard for the spectator to follow the game, much less to keep score. Thus it is with Milton, Sprat, and Burke. Neither Bacon, the *ur-Vater* of empiricism, nor his most eminent progeny, Newton, Petty, and Harrington, stay put on the empiricist side. It is difficult to resist the suspicion

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that, except for a hard-core case or two, it would be possible to find proof texts to make other men whom Greenleaf firmly plants on one side of the net pop up on the other side. This behavior of his players forces on Greenleaf a good many odd verbal tricks such as his splitting of Bodin in two—one part empirical, the other "idea of order," the latter designated as "basic" in Bodin's thought, for reasons which, one feels, are likely to perplex or simply escape the reader.

Greenleaf's players just did not see matters as he sees them. They did not see his dichotomous net because for them it was not there. That both the cosmos and human societies were hierarchically ordered and manifested correspondences was precisely what they believed that their experience and observation showed them. In a reciprocal, indeed a symbiotic relationship, empirical observation confirmed what reason taught. One of the greatest scientific achievements of the eighteenth century and the most empirical of all, the classification of animals and plants by Buffon and Linnaeus, rested on a firm faith in the great chain of being. And Greenleaf's players were not the first or the last whose experience accommodated itself to a *Gestalt* external to it. It still happens to some of us, perhaps to all of us, today.

The collapse of Greenleaf's dichotomy helps explain why his own theory of correspondences—the correspondence between political doctrine and total world view—works out badly. But even if one accepts (with grave misgivings) some of Greenleaf's distinctions, the situation does not improve; indeed it gets worse. Hooker ("idea of order") is no less clear on Parliament's rightful place in the political order of England than Bacon (the "Big Daddy" of the empiricists) is. Coke, who spilled the language of the idea of order all over his law books, stands far more firmly for the rights of the subject against the king than Bacon. And Hobbes, of course, the most absolute absolutist of all (an empiricist? a Cartesian?) seems to have no time for the cosmic idea of order. Here the trouble is that Greenleaf has not examined closely the notions with which he is dealing. For those who chose to construe them that way the very constellation of ideas that Greenleaf regards as sustaining monarchical willfulness can be used to restrict it. Shakespeare's Richard II, for example, was a willful and unreasonable ruler. And he ultimately brought disaster on himself for the disorder he created. He did it by taking property without right, and in an orderly world, as early modern men viewed it, no good could follow from that. So the wicked man Bolingbroke from whom Richard wickedly took his property, rose against him and seized his crown. Yet clearly Bolingbroke was executing God's judgment on Richard. No good man could do so, but the notion that God might and did use wicked instruments to chastise wicked monarchs was at least as old as the prophets of Israel; and what the prophets of Israel said was the sort of thing that the men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had much in mind.

Both the shifts and the stabilities of thought in England as in all Europe during the period that concerns Greenleaf are considerable. They are also intricate and subtle. They cannot be dealt with effectively with the crude and simple tools in Greenleaf's kit.

Yale University J. H. Hexter

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THE COMPLETE WORKS OF ST. THOMAS MORE. Volume IV, UTOPIA. Edited by *Edward Surtz, S.J.,* and *J. H. Hexter.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. cxciv, 629. $15.00.)

More's *Utopia* has been published in well over a hundred editions either in the original Latin or in English translation. It has also been translated into a number of other modern languages. "Utopia" and "utopian" are common in modern speech. These facts alone testify to the compelling fascination of More's work.

In this second volume to be published in the Yale edition of *The Complete Works of Thomas More,* we have definitive parallel texts in Latin and in English. The Latin text is based on the Froben edition published in Basel in March 1518, "the last edition in which More is likely to have had a direct hand," but it incorporates in the textual apparatus variants from all other important editions. The English translation is based not on the overly exuberant Tudor translation of Robinson but on the modern translation of G. C. Richards (1923), a translation that Father Surtz chose because of its "timelessness" and its "cultured colloquialism," a quality that More sought in the Latin original. Richards' text has been corrected or revised where necessary, and the English is admirably clear and readable.

The editors present an exhaustive examination of the circumstances of the writing, the historical milieu, the sources, parallels, influences, the literary qualities of the work, and its essential message. Professor Hexter has written what is surely the definitive account of the circumstances and time scheme of the writing of the various parts of the work, showing the intensifying effect on the Dialogue of Counsel of More's private dilemma. In the year after his mission to Bruges and the visit to Peter Giles in Antwerp, he was under heavy pressure from Henry VIII and Wolsey to enter the royal service. His friend Erasmus had chosen the precarious life of the patronage hunter in preference to the servitude and security of appointment in a royal court. More, with a wife and a household of young people to support, had no such simplicity of choice. Hexter has also deepened and strengthened the argument he presented in his *More's Utopia: The Biography of an Idea* (1952) that More's work is a radical departure both from earlier humanist thought and from classical and medieval models. King Utopus, with whom More identified himself in his dreams, was content neither to be an Athenian aristocrat nor a Christian prince in the medieval or early Renaissance sense. He saw the need to create the conditions in which all members of society could lead the good life. Through strong patriarchal rule at the most immediate level of government, enlightened representative democracy above it, and through abolition of private property, the utopians built a society not perfect but also not enslaved to the deadly sins of greed, sloth, and pride. And, although utopians lacked the Christian revelation, they lived by its message as Christian Europeans did not.

The two editors do not attempt to conceal certain points of disagreement or differences in emphasis. Surtz sees More less as the sharp-minded prosecutor of sixteenth-century society, more as a "moderate humanist," a kindly (though occasionally bitter) humorist, and a practical Christian realist. He ascribes greater influence on More to the Church fathers, to medieval thinkers, and to contempo-

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rary Italian humanists than does Hexter. The two editors would probably agree that their differences in interpretation illustrate the complexity of the man, More, of the problems about human nature and human society with which he deals in *Utopia,* and of the web of history in his times. They do not disagree in their admiration for More's genius and creativity, and their collaboration on text and introduction is valuable for the reader.

Rutgers University MARGARET HASTINGS

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN TUDOR ENGLAND. By *Joan Simon.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 451. $13.50.)

MRS. Simon examines the history of education in sixteenth-century England as an integral and organic aspect of the social, religious, and political history of the century, not as a separate development nor as a mere chapter in a many-faceted story. Where dogmatic answers to the thorny and controversial questions of social and religious history are normally the rule, she has reviewed the evidence carefully and presents conclusions that are moderate, even tentative, and therefore the more convincing. In her analysis of the work of the Northern humanists against the background of the fifteenth century she points out that while Colet, Erasmus, and Vives proposed radical changes in the content and method of education, they did not question the fundamentally religious purpose of medieval education. Nor did they, any more than their medieval predecessors, seek learning for learning's sake. Instead they reaffirmed the Christian purpose of education, only broadening it to embrace the needs of Christian society as a whole and emphasizing the role of the Christian layman and the Christian prince. Thus when statesmen and reformers after the break with Rome frankly made use of education to strengthen the commonwealth and to forward the cause of "true religion" they were not betraying humanist ideas. To the contrary, the Reformation in England provided the essential dynamic for the realization of humanist programs in the later years of the century. The leaders, both lay and clerical, who molded policy under Elizabeth were themselves the product of the social and educational policies supported by Cromwell and developed more fully during Edward's reign. Though they constituted the majority of the council or held high posts in the Church, neither the government nor the Church played a significant role in the advancement of education. Instead these men, together with local leaders, acted in those areas where as individuals they could act more freely: hence the explosive development of the schools as a local phenomenon throughout England and the development of the "third university of England"—not the Inns of Court but the total that was London with its wealth of individual foundations, specialized schools, private teachers, and publicists. It is to the local schools and to the institutions of the city that the outstanding educational achievement of the century, the triumph of the vernacular, is due. Here Simon breaks with the narrow definition of humanism as the merely classical to underline more basic humanist ideals and purposes. The "humanist method was literally absorbed into ways of thought, the humanist approach used and furthered in the service of contemporary needs, from which, after all, it had first arisen."

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For Oxford and Cambridge it was a period of marking time. Scholars in the great tradition were the exception. The picture is of universities that were little more than finishing schools for the gentry, a harsh picture that somehow fails to account for the impressively long list of university scholars responsible for the King James Bible.

The extensive, well-organized, critical bibliography should prove most valuable to social historians as well as to students of the history of education.

Denison University W. M. SOUTHGATE

ENGLISH HUMANISTS AND REFORMATION POLITICS UNDER HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI. By *James Kelsey McConica.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 340. $7.20.)

THE thesis argued, on the whole impressively, in this interesting book is that the influence of Christian humanism was by no means destroyed, or even gravely weakened, in the revolution that was the Henrician Reformation. This view, in a broader context, was most eloquently propounded some years ago in a brilliant essay by Professor Douglas Bush, and it has enjoyed detailed confirmation in studies by Professor Zeeveld and Mr. Caspari, and now by Mr. McConica. In particular, the contention that the brutal destruction of Fisher and More effectively diverted or destroyed the thrust of the Renaissance in England has now been exhaustively disproved.

The author lays great stress on the almost overweening contribution of Erasmus to the development of English humanism, sometimes ticketing writings and trends as Erasmian with possibly some strain on the text as well as on the intentions of the authors in question. The whole powerful group of pamphleteers who lent such effective support to the Henrician settlement of religion was undoubtedly humanistic by education and by instinct, but they were lending eloquent and effective support to ends and to ideas that Erasmus had specifically forsworn in his later career and that he scarcely held with full sympathy at any time. The critical issues were the renunciation of papal power in the English church and the support of royal supremacy, which, as Sir Thomas More so clearly saw, gave to English thought a radically new direction and to the English church a different structure and foundation than that which the Christian humanists had desired. And Erasmus, quite as much as More, wished reform from within rather than the revolution accomplished by the passage of the Act of Supremacy and the great measures that followed it.

It may be held, then, that for the late Henrician years the Erasmian thesis is pushed too far and too persuasively, and it is certainly not as applicable in the Edwardian period as the author would seem to suggest. It may also be pointed out that at times the author is too inclined simply to heap up titles of books, with careful attention to the dedications and prefaces, without examining the contents as fully or as critically as might be wished. We are likewise surprised that the development of Cranmer's thought and doctrine receives such scant and scattered attention, for surely his contribution both to doctrine and to thought was important—perhaps, indeed, decisive.

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This work raises many questions, all treated carefully and quite brilliantly. The research underlying the essay has been thorough and well sustained. The new material found in manuscript collections (particularly in the Royal Manuscripts) is welcome and most competently handled as it is fitted into the larger structure of our knowledge of the printed tracts and books of the period. The essay is written with verve and in a style of considerable elegance. An excellent bibliographical apparatus is provided, and the book itself has been beautifully produced.

Harvard University W. K. JORDAN

ELIZABETHAN MILITARY SCIENCE: THE BOOKS AND THE PRACTICE. By *Henry J. Webb*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 240. $7.50.)

ABOUT two hundred books dealing with military subjects and published in England in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are studied in this work. Translations of classical and contemporary foreign writers are represented, as well as original writers in English. It is maintained that this body of material contributed to the transformation of the English army into "a relatively efficient implement of war," but elsewhere it is admitted that the precise effects of the books are almost impossible to determine. Even though the connection between theory and practice is not proven, the research was worth undertaking and reveals much about the Elizabethan military scene.

One of the author's first points is the high esteem in which Elizabethans held histories of warfare in classical antiquity. These, together with histories of more recent campaigns, may well have been of use in communicating the higher qualities of generalship, impossible to teach in a manual. One of the most popular works in this category was by Vegetius, whose maxims were not only widely read by Elizabethans but by a host of later commanders such as Marlborough. The most important continental military books translated were those of Porcia, Machiavelli, and Fourquevaux.

Several English writers are singled out. Two who had experience in the field would have been well worth reading by an officer. Thomas Digges applied his mathematical skill to such problems as the size of campgrounds, artillery range, and administrative computations. Sir John Smythe was unusual in his emphasis on the successful general's concern for the well-being of his soldiers. Others were less practical, such as one who cautioned commanders to levy men who abstained from dice, cards, and idle games. The commentaries of Sir Francis Vere must have been worth a thousand such tracts.

The analysis of this body of writing reveals much about the infantry, cavalry, artillery, and medical services in the Elizabethan army. The gory details of military surgery suggest one of the greatest hardships faced by the soldier. The contributions of Paré were not Englished until 1634, but Thomas Gale advocated, in 1586, a treatment for gunshot wounds not unlike the great French surgeon's; Paré's teachings regarding ligatures were apparently unknown by army doctors.

The majority of the books analyzed here appeared between 1570 and 1609.

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They represent a large amount of obsolete lore, soon to be jettisoned by the military revolution that substituted the linear order of battle for the Spanish tercio and introduced regular training and discipline. England was on the fringe of this revolution, but reacted, somewhat dimly, to its implications.

Vanderbilt University P. H. Hardacre

REPORT ON THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LATE ALLAN GEORGE FINCH, ESQ., OF BURLEY-ON-THE-HILL, RUTLAND. Volume IV, A.D. 1692, WITH ADDENDA, A.D. 1690 AND 1691. Edited by *Francis Bickley*. [Historical Manuscripts Commission, Number 71.] (London: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1965. Pp. xliii, 583. $32.00.)

This is the fourth in a series of five volumes containing the papers of Daniel Finch, second earl of Nottingham and Secretary of State to William and Mary, and the second of that series to be edited by Francis Bickley. This volume, covering the year 1692, is especially interesting, for the year was an eventful one. William led an army against France in Flanders and pressed unsuccessfully for an English invasion of the French coast, while Englishmen at home worried about rumors of a threatened French descent upon their own shores, the depredations of Jean Bart, and the French navy's activities in the Channel. Nottingham, as sole Secretary of State, was in the midst of events and largely responsible for directing English policy and defense, and, in addition, official correspondent between Mary, in England, and William, in the field.

The collection includes several interesting exchanges of letters. A lengthy and informative series between Admiral Russell, in command of the fleet, and the Secretary reveals much of the problems of maintaining, supplying, and financing a navy, of naval strategy and politics, of the famous victory off La Hogue, and of the projected, but never accomplished, raids on Saint-Malo and Brest, England's rather feeble, though understandable, response to William's hopes for invasion. A second series, between Nottingham and William Blathwayt, the King's minister in attendance, tells of William's moves on the Continent and his attitude toward affairs at home, while another group, from William's confidant, the Duke of Portland, reveals the deepening division between the King's advisers who wished to commit England's full strength to continental campaigns and those who seriously feared French invasion and Jacobite uprisings at home. There are letters presumably from Dr. Richard Kingston, Nottingham's spy and *agent provocateur,* reports of an embittered Princess Anne, sulking at Bath and fancying herself a second Princess Elizabeth, of James in France, pathetically hoping for a victorious return to England, and of Jacobites, rumored and real, not quite so pathetically plotting to achieve it. There are a few reports from the Earl of Breadalbane on Scottish matters, some notes on the tangled Anglo-Danish diplomatic affair, and a few references to English designs in the Caribbean and Mediterranean. The documents are well edited, annotated, and cross-referenced, the introduction is full and informative, and the index is detailed and helpful.

University of Illinois, Chicago Carolyn Andervont Edie

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THE COMPLETE LETTERS OF LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU. Volume I, 1708–1720. Edited by *Robert Halsband*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xxxi, 468. $13.45.)

Posterity will not lack one type of material on eighteenth-century English history. So many volumes of letters, papers, and memoirs of the period have been pouring forth from university presses that an eminent Cambridge historian, J. H. Plumb, has called for a halt to, or at least a re-examination of, the "factory method" of editing these vast collections. *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu,* be it noted, is a one-man show and will be limited to two volumes. Professor Halsband, who edits the collection, is the author of a fine biography of Lady Mary, with whom he is obviously enthralled, and the editorial standards of this first volume are very high.

Lady Mary has enthralled many before Halsband. Alexander Pope was her slave for a time; Smollett, Dr. Johnson, Gibbon, and Voltaire praised her extravagantly. Her literary reputation rests largely on her "Embassy Letters" of the years 1716–1718, written from Constantinople and on the journey out and back. Consciously designed for posterity, written from journals kept at the time, and privately circulated long before their ultimate publication, they rate at the top of their genre, being frequently compared with the letters of Madame de Sévigné and often to the advantage of Lady Mary. In this new edition the "Embassy Letters" take up the last half of the volume.

To the historian the first half of the volume is perhaps more interesting, both for what it reveals about Lady Mary and about the aristocratic society of her day. The letters begin at the very time she met her future husband, and her letters to Edward Wortley (and his to her, which Halsband wisely includes) make up a major part of the correspondence down to 1716. Interspersed are some charmingly informal and witty letters to two feminine confidantes, which form a delightful counterpoint to the frenzied advances and retreats that constituted their stormy courtship and finally ended in elopement. The letters to one of these correspondents are here printed (with one exception) for the first time.

Lady Mary was a bluestocking decades ahead of her time, both in her education (largely through her own efforts) and in her freedom and cynicism. One may perhaps find grounds for cynicism in her change of tone: from the letters of the unwed and uncertain maiden of August 1712 to those of the rather formidable wife and young mother of three years later, chiding her husband for not putting himself forward more boldly in the world of early Hanoverian politics. "The Ministry is like a play at Court," she tells him. "There's a little door to get in, and a great Croud without, shoveing and thrusting who shall be foremost; people that knock others with their Elbows, disregard a little kick of the shinns, and still thrust heartily forward are sure of a good place."

Lady Mary was at the peak of her fame on her return from the Middle East. It will be sad to observe her decline into unpopularity and, finally, obloquy in the second volume of Halsband's excellent edition of her letters.

College of Wooster Robert Walcott

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BRITISH NAVAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE AGE OF WALPOLE. By *Daniel A. Baugh.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. 557. $12.50.)

ADMINISTRATIVE history has suffered from its scholarly practitioners' capacity for taking infinite pains; as a result, scores of monographs on clerks, perquisites, office practice, and incipient civil services have gathered dust waiting for someone to suggest their relevance. Professor Baugh's imaginative book on the naval establishment in the war of 1739–1748 is a refreshing departure from the general run of administrative histories. His work is a significant contribution on at least two levels unusual in a single volume. In the first place he has brought together from unprinted Admiralty sources some important and intelligently selected material on the manning, supplying, victualing, and financing of the Georgian navy. And he has made this information robustly pertinent by placing it in the context of eighteenth-century political and constitutional history. He has sensibly left the problem of naval tactics to others and has concentrated his efforts on a carefully and brilliantly composed study of one of the most important functions of eighteenth-century government.

Several naval historians, among them Murray, Lloyd, and Lewis, have ascribed the weakness of the navy at the beginning of conflict in 1739 to Walpole's lack of interest in war. But Baugh reminds us that the navy got off to a bad start in 1756 and in 1775; he looks for a more fundamental explanation in the limitations imposed by the political and constitutional arrangements of the period.

The business of government in Georgian England was largely the business of waging war. The navy claimed half the national revenue for several decades. But the management of the navy had to be accomplished in a constitutional environment essentially hostile to vigorous administration. Therein lies the burden of Baugh's book: the story of the organization of an efficient fighting force by agents of a constitutionally weak government inhibited by an odd mixture of aristocratic independence and popular civil liberties.

Naval administrators in the reign of George II relied heavily for support on the City. The City represented the classes of men who wanted war, men whose mercantile interests were closely tied to the contraband trade with New Spain. Baugh shows that the support of the City meant that the navy had few financial problems compared with those of its continental adversaries. But the support of the commercial interests carried with it heavy demands on strategy. And Georgian strategy, in consequence, was often subordinated to the requirements of trade.

Although Walpole had vacated the seat of power early in the period of war covered by this book, Baugh's study is nonetheless well named. For the state of the navy in 1739–1748 was the product of the assumptions and practices of the Age of Walpole. Walpole's peace policy was not destructive of the navy because he saw the need of a vital fleet to ensure the continuance of the peace he desired.

Not the least of the attractions of this book is its lively style which infuses some of the qualities of good narrative writing into administrative history. Baugh's tour of the London offices of the navy (and he invites his reader to hire a coach) is a delightful introduction to the metropolis.

Trinity College GEORGE B. COOPER

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THE FIRST INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. By *Phyllis Deane*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 295. Cloth $8.00, paper $2.95.)

Miss Deane has already placed students of modern British history under deep obligation. Her admirable monograph, *British Economic Growth, 1688–1959: Trends and Structure* (1962), written with W. A. Cole, is a fresh and precise analysis of the factors of growth and of their interplay within a careful quantitative framework. This work led, as a "by-product," to publication with her coauthor, B. R. Mitchell, of the first well-annotated, dependable, and comprehensive time series in a single monumental volume, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (1962), a work comparable in excellence and reliability with that of the US Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957* (1962), without the annoyance of the reverse arrangement of the time series employed in the latter.

Now Deane presents her findings for a shorter time span—the first century of pioneering transition—and for the more general historian and student. Charts and tables are almost entirely eliminated, and the data are woven into the exposition, which is splendidly clear and equally readable for the nonspecialist as well as the specialist, yet dodging none of the questions with which economists concerned with problems of economic development must grapple. The subjects examined include: the situation by the mid-eighteenth century, the ensuing demographic, agricultural, commercial, and transportation revolutions; the cotton and iron industries; the roles of innovation, labor, capital, banking, and government; free trade and agriculture; and the standard of living. To all of these topics the author brings vast knowledge and a fine talent for exposition, and she achieves remarkable success in holding the reader's attention to each topic in the context of the whole. She feels that the industrial transition in Britain was less an event than a process and cannot be marked off neatly into stages. She dispells many long-held myths and misconceptions as, for example, once again, the idea that the enclosure movement and agricultural innovations resulted in a decline in the agricultural work force before the 1850's. Correcting exaggerated notions, she also holds that the long-term average annual rate of growth in the economy as a whole was between 2 and 3 per cent over most of the nineteenth century and that "at no stage" in British industrialization in the period 1750–1850 did capital formation amount to a high proportion of national income. The British economy, she suggests, was not "distinguished by a high propensity to invest." She doubts whether new investment, domestic and foreign, amounted to more than 10 per cent of the net national product even by the 1850's.

To sum up briefly, this volume can be recommended without qualification.

Tufts University ALBERT H. IMLAH

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S ARMY IN GERMANY DURING THE SEVEN YEARS WAR. By *Sir Reginald Savory*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xxii, 571. $13.45.)

This book on the Anglo-German contingent in the Seven Years' War is a superior

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example of traditional military history. General Savory shows little interest in the intellectual, social, and political conditions that determined the organization and employment of the armies he writes about. He is concerned neither with strategic theories and their effect on operations, nor with the military technology and tactics of the period. His study addresses itself to more timeless matters: the physical and psychological courage of the troops and their leaders; the consequences of jealousy, fatigue, and inclement weather; the inability of organizations to cope smoothly with chance. Unobtrusive allusions to his own experiences point up the unchanging character of this side of war, but the book's realism is bought at the price of turning its protagonists into unhistorical waifs, who could as well belong in the sixteenth or twentieth century as in the 1750's.

The allied forces in Westphalia, first under the Duke of Cumberland, then commanded with greater success by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, had the task of keeping the French from penetrating into Brandenburg. Their mission was defensive, but, as Frederick II never tired of exhorting, they could accomplish it only through aggressiveness. The interest of the campaigns lies in this duality, the manner in which Ferdinand, seeking to maneuver from unassailable positions against the enemy's communications, was repeatedly compelled to take recourse to battle. Northwest Germany was a minor theater of war, but one in which at almost any time failure to block the French could have brought disaster to Prussia.

In his careful narrative, Savory draws on a number of documentary sources, among them the Cumberland, Mitchell, and Newcastle Papers, and interesting holdings of the Vincennes archives and the Public Record Office. If no comprehensive analysis is constructed out of these materials, they are nevertheless used effectively to show how a campaign leading to a climactic encounter may be shaped by dozens of small factors, ranging from the location of a supply depot to the personality of an advance guard commander. The book usefully supplements the standard account contained in the German General Staff history of the Seven Years' War, and its sober factualness will put students of eighteenth-century warfare in the author's debt.

Institute for Advanced Study PETER PARET

DR. PARR: A PORTRAIT OF THE WHIG DR. JOHNSON. By *Warren Derry*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xviii, 372. $8.80.)

WERE it legally possible to libel the dead, an ardent disciple of Dr. Johnson might find grounds for suit in the title of this rewarding book. That there *could* be a Whig Dr. Johnson and that Dr. Parr could be any Dr. Johnson approaches constructive libel, if such a thing may be. The "colossus of etymology" might err, and often did, but if anyone said that his elegant Latinity veiled scarcity of sense we have no record of it; and, though he often talked dogmatically and even nonsensically, no contemporary would have dared to say, as one did of Parr, that he attempted "rather to shine by bold assertion couched in pompous language than by close reasoning." Whether or not so harsh a judgment was warranted, one must likewise remember Parr's own admonition, "never neglect your Latin and

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Greek, and be a Whig," and recall that he spent a lord mayor's banquet discussing the Alexandrian grammarian, Lycophron, with Charles James Fox.

A good bed book is more to be desired than another *Critique of Pure Reason,* and Warren Derry proves it in this volume as discursive as Parr himself. Here again *one* eighteenth century is talking, talking about politics, education, toleration, law reform, and scholarship, often, it seems, in quotations. Rapin made Parr a Whig, and Fox kept him so: if no innovations be attempted woe be to posterity. More and better education was his solution for the world's ills, especially in that tortuous area, crime and punishment. For a man who prescribed flogging as a sure stimulus to learning, "Dr. Sam" kept strange company; he admired Bentham and loved Romilly, supporting the latter most vigorously in the campaign for law reform. Wide-ranging as were his interests and his sympathies, and no doubt their seed plot, scholarship was his first love and his last: "Porson has more Greek; but no man's horse carries more Latin than mine." Yet he was a king without a kingdom. A free conversational dispenser of learning, he bequeathed only lengthy, often preposterously pedantic, notes that no one reads. No matter. There are many men better to be spared than this "splintery" eccentric who at sixty was addicted to "hot boiled lobsters with a profusion of shrimp sauce," and who for all his pretense and humbug chose in the epitaph of his own composing to be remembered as one who loved mercy, lived in charity with his neighbors, and walked—for once—humbly with his God.

University of Missouri CHARLES F. MULLETT

AGENTS AND MERCHANTS: BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY AND THE ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1763–1775. By *Jack M. Sosin.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 267. $5.50.)

JACK M. Sosin's new study of Whitehall in the imperial wilderness has much merit. It should be widely welcomed for its careful scholarship and its convenient review of the activities of the colonial agent in prerevolutionary London. It is unfortunate, however, that Sosin should begin his admirable study with an approach so condescending to earlier writing on this subject: he cannot resist a survey of the limited achievements of Namier, Andrews, Van Tyne, and Gipson, noting their strange diversity of interpretation which, he graciously concedes, may be due to more than "insufficient research and oversimplification," and might well derive from their desire to rationalize and make more meaningful what really was not.

But for readers who surmount this hurdle, Sosin's work should prove richly rewarding. He argues for the existence of "a rudimentary lobby" made up of an uneasy alliance of colonial agents and British merchants engaged in the American trade. This alliance broke down early in the 1770's as British merchants turned increasingly to trade with Europe and Spanish America. Sosin demonstrates that, in its prime, this lobby enjoyed frequent effectiveness: in reducing the severity of the 1764 Currency Act, in lowering the proposed duty on molasses in 1764, in softening the impact of the Mutiny Act, and in attempting to circumvent the

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Stamp Act in 1765. These were years of opportunity for both agents and merchants. Sosin's study of the Sugar Act of 1764 illuminates political compromise in the making. His review of the emergence of the Stamp Act is perhaps more controversial and less coherent, especially when he argues for Grenville's candor and honesty. He is happiest in treating the role of the colonial lobby in securing the Stamp Act's repeal and in fighting the Townshend legislation. It is useful to recall Rockingham's lack of vested interest in Grenville's legislation and to remember Rockingham's frantic search for political support and his resultant readiness to use the merchants to present the case for early repeal. But it would have been helpful to underline the later complications inherent in Rockingham's sponsorship of the Declaratory Act; his tenderness on this issue made him predictably reluctant to work with the colonial lobby later.

According to Sosin the colonial lobby was generally effective so long as it could side-step the question of parliamentary supremacy. This became increasingly difficult by 1770, coinciding with a serious weakening of the lobby itself. Among other factors, there was a substantial turnover in its colonial personnel, with Franklin emerging as the most prominent American; British merchants were less enthusiastic in their support of colonial claims, especially as British sovereignty was in dispute; and the American colonies hardened their demands, allowing only nominal latitude to their agents as negotiators by 1774.

Of course, there were other factors. The North ministry was the strongest Britain had known since George III became monarch. The government did not need the support of splinter groups in Parliament. The general election in 1774 confirmed both public disinterest in American affairs and public confidence in the North administration; the frustration and failure of the surviving members of the colonial lobby were now assured. It would have been helpful had Sosin ventured a more serious exploration of the political context in which his lobby labored. He has nothing to say on the agents' relations with Caroline Robbins' ubiquitous "Real Whigs."

Indiana University TREVOR COLBOURN

THE IMPEACHMENT OF WARREN HASTINGS. By *P. J. Marshall.* [Oxford Historical Series, Second Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xix, 217. $4.80.)

SIR James Fitzjames Stephen had contemplated writing an account of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, but, as he tells us, he found "the materials so voluminous and the subject so intricate" that he doubted whether he would be able to finish it in a reasonable time. It is a tribute to Mr. Marshall that he has been able to give us a clear and readable account of the impeachment within the compass of two hundred pages. In the first part of his book the author traces Edmund Burke's interest in Indian affairs and the growth of his conviction that Hastings was personally responsible for the gross abuses perpetrated, as he believed, by the East India Company. The author examines, and in large measure succeeds in disentangling, the interplay of those factors which led Burke to press charges that he admitted would never be established: his moral principles, the

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influence of his brother William and of Philip Francis, and his association with a parliamentary group in opposition to the government of the day.

The second part of the book is devoted to an examination of the four charges in the articles of indictment that were investigated by the Lords. These charges concerned Hastings' responsibility for the revolt of Chait Singh, his treatment of the begums of Oudh, his acceptance of presents, and his manner of awarding contracts; they are examined primarily from the standpoint of a historian. This gives this book its value. We do not get the meticulous, detailed examination of the evidence presented to the Lords (which no doubt Stephen would have given us), and this a lawyer is bound to regret should he desire to make up his own mind about how their lordships would have voted had they been moved by purely judicial considerations. But the legal view at times is a narrow one, and it is good that *causes célèbres* such as the impeachment of Hastings or the trial of Nandakumar should be viewed against the background of the social customs and morality of the age in which the actors lived. It is in this respect that the author has succeeded admirably, and his book is a useful addition to the growing volume of literature on this subject.

London, England ORBY MOOTHAM

THE JOURNAL OF THE REV. WILLIAM BAGSHAW STEVENS. Edited by *Georgina Galbraith*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xxvii, 550. $10.10.)

OBSCURITY is a relative condition. William Bagshaw Stevens finds a place in the *DNB* (he would be pleased at the designation of poet there accorded him), and in his own day he acquired some little distinction as headmaster of Repton School; domestic chaplain to the family of Sir Robert Burdett and friend of Sir Robert's distinguished son, Francis; fellow and lecturer in moral philosophy at Magdalen; and the author of two volumes of verse and a commendatory poem prefixed to Erasmus Darwin's *Botanic Garden*. These credentials notwithstanding, Stevens can claim little historical or literary importance in his own right. The interest his journal has for historians today derives from the people he knew, especially the Burdetts and the family of the banker, Thomas Coutts (anyone interested in the career of Sir Francis Burdett will be grateful for the rich array of personal details that Stevens has recorded of the famous politician). The journal provides material, too, for the social historian. Stevens may not give our age new insights into eighteenth-century life, but his corroboration of the accepted view can at times be fascinating. His desire for an ampler living, for example, forms a leitmotiv in the journal, as he anxiously scans the state of health of one incumbent after another. Rarely, outside of fiction, has the grim comedy of clerical preferment seeking been so thoroughly displayed.

Because of the obscurity of its author and the nature of much of its contents, Stevens' journal is primarily of value to specialists. It has, however, other, less utilitarian virtues. Stevens was obviously a careful and interested observer, and when he chose, he could be an excellent reporter. His record of conversations he had with Fanny Coutts over a six-day period is almost Boswellian in its fullness

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of detail and its air of veracity. He was in love with Fanny, the banker's second daughter, and she may have been in love with him. The ambiguous state of her feelings, the complete sincerity of his, and the family's implacable opposition to their continued friendship provide more interesting material than that found in many of the novels of Stevens' time.

But the journal's occasional resemblances to fiction should not be stressed. It comprises the stuff of which biography is made. Mrs. Galbraith, who traced the six manuscript volumes to the Huntington Library, quite properly calls this meticulously edited record of Stevens' daily concerns from 1792 to 1800 "a human document." That its subject is a forgotten clergyman of more than average talents and considerably less than average luck does not diminish its very human appeal.

Duke University OLIVER W. FERGUSON

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF GEORGE, PRINCE OF WALES 1770–1812. Volume III, 1795–1798. Edited by *A. Aspinall.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 519. $19.20.)

PROFESSOR Aspinall has again produced an attractive, well-illustrated, excellently printed volume. It extends the correspondence of George, prince of Wales, through four critical years in the history of Great Britain. As in his earlier volumes of this correspondence, the editor has demonstrated his mastery of the history of the period and knowledge of the personalities involved. In the few brief paragraphs that serve as introductions for each year, Aspinall has summarized the main topics in neat essays. He conveys his own estimate of the nature of the letters. His footnotes provide all pertinent factual information, and when necessary they include letters that clarify the material.

The serious reader will be disappointed with the contents of this volume, for there is not much exchange on really important events of the period. George indicates little political interest or activity beyond a general dislike of the Pitt ministry. Only in the letters of 1797 is there any important political information. The letters, however, provide considerable information on the personality of George and his personal life. His interest is centered on such matters as his unfortunate marriage, desire for military titles and office, relationships with his brothers and sisters, and financial needs and settlements. The letters seem to support the view that his marriage was satisfactory for about one year. They show his dissatisfaction with his father over the prestige of his military appointments. They indicate particularly strong connections with his brothers Edward and Augustus and sister Elizabeth during these years. And they point out his irresponsible attitude and ways in matters of finance. On the whole they support the general evaluation of George as a shallow and egotistical man.

Perhaps the most interesting result of reading the letters is the picture of Queen Charlotte that emerges. She shows her partiality for her oldest son, common-sense advice, and extensive knowledge and understanding of contemporary events. The Queen becomes a personality on her own.

Editor Aspinall deserves congratulations for another excellent volume which

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continues his existing reputation, even though the materials for these years are of minor importance.

New York University JOHN W. WILKES

THE SEARCH FOR ENVIRONMENT. THE GARDEN CITY: BEFORE AND AFTER. By *Walter L. Creese.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xx, 360. $15.00.)

MUCH has been written about the appalling conditions under which workers lived during the Industrial Revolution in England. The classic portrayal as propounded by, for example, the Hammonds, of flimsy, jerry-built houses without light, heat, or water, of unpaved streets and open sewers, is not overdrawn, although more recent research has shown that conditions varied greatly from locality to locality. Some of the newer studies have filled gaps in the account and have related the worst periods of abuse to the economic or political situation, to wars and wartime wages, depressions, shortages of materials, increased population, Irish migrants, and similar factors. The old simplistic explanation of greedy capitalists victimizing the helpless workers has elements of truth; the system was highly competitive, and no employer was in business for anything but profit. Yet, as the present study shows, there were great concern and much disinterested activity on the part of many people, including employers, to provide a better environment for the day laborer; there were schemes for garden cities even while the Industrial Revolution was in its infancy.

Professor Creese gives an account of some of those planned communities ranging in time from Fairfield, the late eighteenth-century utopia established by Moravians near Manchester, to more sophisticated housing developments of the early twentieth century. He is particularly interested in the quest for an environment that was aesthetically satisfying as well as comfortable and healthful, and he records with fascinating detail the controversies over style, straight or curved avenues, green spaces, and garden allotments. In the model villages of the Bradford-Halifax area, for instance, tenants objected to the Gothic style at first because they thought that its gables and dormers made their homes resemble medieval almshouses; they were mollified, however, when a stone shield with monogram was placed over each family entrance. These first planned settlements, projected by three textile families, the Salts, the Akroyds, and the Crossleys, had schools, libraries, churches, stores, parks, and individual garden plots from their first conception, and they have a surprisingly modern look.

Among the model communities described by the author are Bedford Park, Port Sunlight, Bournville, New Earswick, Letchworth, Hampstead, and Wythenshawe. He devotes considerable space to the men who conceived them: Ebenezer Howard, William Morris, Barry Parker, and Sir Raymond Unwin. Superb illustrations show graphically the actual results of the ideals of these pioneers and round out this new and valuable addition to the history of city planning in the era of rapid industrial change.

Rutgers University RUTH EMERY

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REACTION AND RECONSTRUCTION IN ENGLISH POLITICS, 1832–1852. By *Norman Gash.* [The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in the Hilary Term 1964.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. 227. $4.80.)

It has been said that the invitation to deliver the Ford Lectures is the highest honor that an English historian can receive; it is undoubtedly one that Professor Norman Gash well deserved. To some historians such as his predecessor, Dr. G. Kitson Clark, these lectures have presented the opportunity of analyzing the results of recent scholarship in some fairly broad field and producing a new synthesis. This can be a very useful and rewarding endeavor, but it is not one that Gash has chosen. He is a highly self-sufficient historian; taking relatively little note of the work of other scholars, his lectures are primarily an extension of his own work and mainly based on his own research. He has taken advantage of the invitation to deliver these lectures to complement his earlier study of *Politics in the Age of Peel,* which dealt mainly with the structure of politics at the grass roots and said little about the parties at Westminster and the issues that came between them.

The first two lectures deal with politico-constitutional problems involving the monarchy and the House of Lords in the two decades following 1832; the third and fourth with the relationship of Church and dissent in the same period; and the fifth and sixth with the elusive subject of party. The second, third, and fourth lectures treat relatively familiar topics in a thoughtful and instructive manner, but in my opinion the first, the fifth, and the sixth are the most significant. Gash's account and judgment of the dismissal of Melbourne in 1834 and of the Bedchamber Crisis of 1839 are fresh and stimulating, as may be gathered from his suggestion that "there is in fact a strong case for arguing that whereas William IV in 1834 acted constitutionally but unsuccessfully, Victoria in 1839 acted successfully but unconstitutionally."

In his celebrated Romanes Lecture of 1952 on *Monarchy and the Party System* Sir Lewis Namier indicated that modern political parties could not emerge until after parliamentary reform had produced a nationwide electorate and that "essential work" needed to be done in this "least explored period of British constitutional history." No one has done more to fill this gap than Gash. It is true that many of the points that he makes are to be found in his earlier work, and in that of Halévy and Kitson Clark, but nowhere, to my knowledge, is the nature of the two parties as they emerged in the decades following 1832 so well and clearly elaborated as it is here. In this book, as in his previous work, we see Gash as a conservative historian in the best sense of the term, skeptical, discriminating, detached, ever on his guard against easy generalizations or sentimental enthusiasms; cautious and clearheaded, always in control of the thesis that he is developing and in his expression of it. These lectures were well worth all the labor that obviously has gone into their preparation; our only regret is that they must inevitably have postponed the appearance of the second volume of the author's definitive life of Peel, to which we may now look forward.

University of Toronto J. B. Conacher

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BRITISH MEDIATION IN THE DANISH-GERMAN CONFLICT, 1848–1850. Part 1, FROM THE MARCH REVOLUTION TO THE NOVEMBER GOVERNMENT. By *Holger Hjelholt.* [Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser udgivet af det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Volume XLI, Number 1.] (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard. 1965. Pp. 235. D. kr. 40.)

THIS detailed study of Palmerston's policy expands and modifies earlier accounts. It has been generally assumed that Palmerston opposed German intervention in Schleswig-Holstein and, with Russian support, forced the Prussians to withdraw their troops and abandon their plan for exploiting the duchy problem. Mr. Hjelholt argues that Palmerston accepted the main claims of the Schleswig-Holstein revolutionaries and, while condemning the Prussian resort to force, adopted a pro-German attitude in the mediation that followed. Influenced by his sympathy for the German Confederation and for nationalist movements, Palmerston came to favor, though modified, the proposals of Bunsen, the Prussian minister in London who also enjoyed the confidence of the pro-German Prince Consort. Hjelholt shows that Palmerston refused to assist the Danes under the terms of the Treaty of 1720, failed to include the pro-Danish Russian government in the armistice discussions because of Prussian opposition, and later declined to sign a four-power declaration recognizing an indissoluble connection between Schleswig and Denmark. Palmerston made every effort to restore and keep the peace, but it was owing to a Russian threat of intervention that Prussian troops evacuated Jutland and war was not actively resumed in July. By October 1848 the Danes hoped to better their position by ending England's mediation and bringing in powers more favorable to their viewpoint.

Hjelholt writes with strong feelings and from a Danish point of view. He argues that there was no legal basis for the duchies' demand for independence and that the German intervention was an invasion of foreign territory. He insists that Palmerston took an incorrect view of the revolution, the succession problem, and the German position. Consequently, Palmerston suggested terms that conflicted with Danish and Eider-Dane interests. The author has not proved in this study that his own interpretation of the Schleswig-Holstein question is the correct one, and yet his view strongly colors his judgment of Palmerston's policy. The author's focus is an excessively narrow one, and his sources, English, Danish, and German, are restricted in scope. He makes no attempt to relate Palmerston's negotiations with England's general policy toward the German Confederation and the German Revolution of 1848. It is not yet clear how far this study changes our earlier interpretations. There may have been more consistency between Palmerston's handling of the duchy question and his treatment of the German Confederation than has been assumed. It is to be hoped that the author will give us a more inclusive view of Palmerston's diplomacy in his concluding volume.

New Hall, Cambridge University ZARA STEINER

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L'INGHILTERRA DI MAZZINI. By *Emilia Morelli*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica. Series 2, Memorie. Volume XXI.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1965. Pp. 231.)

Dr. Emilia Morelli's excellent monograph on Mazzini's England is a detailed reconstruction of the Italian exile's slow but unmistakable metamorphosis from an initial posture of almost total alienation and rejection to a position of unofficial participation and ideological activism within the British liberal world in general and its moderately radical, bourgeois, and Chartist, sectors in particular.

In a pioneering work published almost three decades ago (*Mazzini in Inghilterra* [1938]), Morelli studied the vicissitudes of Mazzini's own personality and ideology vis-à-vis his long-enforced sojourn in England. In this new work on the England of Mazzini, not merely through a new perspective but also through the utilization of different materials, Morelli reverses the parts. She analyzes British politics and society in so far as they felt the impact of Mazzini's thought and action. Among other things, her book amounts to a contribution to the sociology of nineteenth-century British politics and to an illuminating essay on the history of forces and ideas that lay behind the *Risorgimento*. Neither Herzen, Mazzini's friend, nor Marx, Mazzini's antagonist, felt any need of nor saw any use in influencing British public opinion; England's parliamentary policies and international politics could have no function in their opposing revolutionary objectives. On the other hand, Morelli now shows how, with reluctance at first and then more boldly and subtly, Mazzini took the calculated risk of seeking to canalize the attraction of his name and reputation, the fascination of his personality, his friendships and his loves, the fears he inspired in British reactionary and conservative circles, and the affections he gained among liberal and radical groups toward his consistent, single-minded purpose of bringing about an Italian revolution, national and democratic at the same time.

Accepting many slanderous and nasty myths broadcast by Mazzini's political enemies in Europe and in England, a number of otherwise respectable biographers and historians have found it convenient to repeat them without benefit of firsthand knowledge. Thus contemporary ideological malice has often been compounded with later historical nonsense to perpetuate "portraits" of the great exile that at best were mere caricatures and at worst outright distortions. After 1850 Bonapartist informers and Cavourian agents were legion and influential and, worse, frequently quite successful in their efforts to discredit Mazzini's name and cause. In due time, where they failed, the extreme Right of international conservatism and the extreme Left of international revolution unwittingly complemented each other in perfecting the most contradictory images of Mazzini.

Quietly, undramatically, but always on the basis of incontrovertible documentary evidence, Morelli demolishes most of the myths. Those sophisticated modern historians who still use Mazzini's name in order to condemn the idealist in politics should reread carefully the chronicles of the Roman Republic of 1849 and this account of Mazzini's pervasive political work in the broad daylight of Victorian England both before and after the Mazzinian revolution that failed. Those who find it satisfying to see Mazzini as a purely marginal figure of mere

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choreographic interest in British liberal politics would do well to retrace, under Morelli's expert guidance, the two great parliamentary debates that twenty years and much history apart (1844, 1864) shook British governments, Peel's and Palmerston's respectively, and all sectors of British public opinion. Those who, whether through malice or ignorance, or for the sake of rhetorical effect, still repeat the threadbare legend that, after all, Mazzini's England consisted only of a series of small sections of London society, and that, even worse, each of these represented only sentimental coteries of infatuated, overzealous young ladies, British and even American *nouveaux riches,* misguided and ineffectual "social workers," should find it instructive to check again, as Morelli has done, into the characters and temperaments, the activities and correspondence of a Jane Welsh Carlyle, an Emily Ashurst, a Jessie White Mario, or a Margaret Fuller. Indeed, the skeptics and malingerers will be reminded by the details in this book that while Mazzini never denied those excellent ladies and others like them either his fondness or his gratitude, he remained "loyal to other loyalties," ever faithful to only three profound loves: for Maria Mazzini, for Giuditta Sidoli, and for Italy. What is infinitely more important, against the historical fables circulated, now for over a century, concerning Mazzini's "company of the English ladies," supposedly his variety of idyllic and serene "courts of love," stands the fact, so clearly established and elaborated in this volume, that both before and after his tragic experience of 1848–1849, Mazzini always, indefatigably, worked among strong-willed, often hardheaded, men who saw in him the incarnation of their open or secret political and moral ideals. Thus he succeeded in creating and influencing a vast circle of British "realists" who variously committed their energies and talents, frequently their money and their reputations, to the "idealist's" cause.

In the end, even Cavour and the British "realists," including the editors of the *Times,* who had otherwise been satisfied to regard Mazzini as a revolutionary "madman," reluctantly recognized that without his unceasing labors in mobilizing British public opinion England would not have been disposed, as it officially was during and after the Crimean War, "to consider Italy as a nation that had to become a state." It is true that, as things went in Italy in 1859–1861, Mazzini was "defeated" on the political ground of England as well as of Italy. But, as Morelli wisely concludes, in England even before than in Italy Mazzini had won spiritually. He remained the truly unique exemplar of "that consistency, of that rectitude, of that moral force" upon which Victorian England claimed to rest its political prestige and the Italian *Risorgimento* its spiritual significance.

University of Rochester A. William Salomone

W. H. SMITH. By *Viscount Chilston.* [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 380. $10.00.)

Viscount Chilston, biographer of the first Lord Chilston, Aretas Akers-Douglas, the Conservative whip, now records the life of another interesting Conservative of the second rank, W. H. Smith. Such a study is richly justified.

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Smith died in office in 1891 as leader of his party in the House of Commons, and there has been no biography of him since the two volumes by Sir Herbert Maxwell in 1893. Chilston has made good use of the many biographies and autobiographies of political figures that have appeared since, as well as some of the more specialized articles and studies. He has also been able to use manuscript collections not available to the earlier biographer, most notably the Salisbury and Chilston Papers, although not some of the papers that Maxwell used that have disappeared. Within reasonable compass, but not at reasonable price, Chilston has told the story of this Victorian worthy, who, as depicted here, truly is more interesting as a businessman than as a politician.

The firm of W. H. Smith, still ubiquitous in England, started in the 1790's and the first W. H. Smith made a great success out of the distribution of newspapers. His son, the subject of the biography, was anxious to leave his mother's Wesleyanism in order to become a Church of England clergyman, but with little hesitation he obeyed his father's injunction that he go into the business. In fact he brought to it imagination and dash and was responsible for offering reading matter to the great traveling public on a higher level than the near pornography that previously had been sold in the stations. The account of the building of the business provides a refreshing change from the stuff of the ordinary political biography, which, in this case, takes over in 1865 when Smith, at the age of forty, defeated John Stuart Mill in Westminster, after having run unsuccessfully in 1862.

As the story moves into the political arena, Chilston rather falters. Although he is not restricted by a sense of Victorian rectitude, his approach to his subject is oddly Victorian, in that he appears to feel that the example of the good life led by Smith is more important than his political significance. Much of his material is interesting, but one could wish more had been made of it. Here is a great businessman, who does not seem upset at being blackballed at the Reform Club for being in trade, feels that his daughters must not expect to wed above themselves, declines the Order of the Bath as being too aristocratic, and is nevertheless not a Radical. He is invited to stand for two Liberal constituencies, before styling himself a Liberal-Conservative and running in Westminster. He gradually moves completely within the orbit of the Conservative party, but the reader senses that he is far from "hard-faced" and that there is imagination and compassion in his make-up. While Chilston asserts that such is so, he does not work out in any detail the new sort of Conservative ethos that Smith can be taken to represent.

There may well have been a more considerable man lurking behind the façade of middle-class worthiness, but he is not allowed to emerge. One feels that Chilston ought to have looked more deeply into what made Smith interesting and distinctive as a politician. As it is, his biography presents a fascinating picture of the early history of the Smith firm and offers some interesting glimpses of late Victorian political life.

Harvard University PETER STANSKY

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DOCTORS AND THE STATE: THE BRITISH MEDICAL PROFESSION AND GOVERNMENT ACTION IN PUBLIC HEALTH, 1870–1912. By *Jeanne L. Brand*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 307. $7.95.)

THIS book surveys an almost wholly neglected area of recent political history: that of technical administration, the entry of the trained professional into government service that was part of the administrative revolution of the nineteenth century. Even though a substantial number of these men—Simon and Newman immediately spring to mind—have chronicled their work and lamented the position of the expert, sure of his answers and techniques, lost in the political wasteland of muddle and fog, their impact on policy has been scarcely investigated by historians. Roy MacLeod is working to develop this field under the sponsorship of Professor Briggs at the University of Sussex, but so far little has been produced in the United Kingdom. Jeanne Brand, herself both a professional historian and a civil servant, has made a significant American contribution to this field of British studies. Her book is generally a history of British government action in the health field after the establishment of the Local Government Board and up to the beginning of health insurance administration. It treats in some detail the pressure group activities of the medical profession. There are excellent sections on early Local Government Board work on disease control and support of research, showing a new and enlightened side of that frequently maligned department.

When the author deals with events of wider political interest, however, her grasp of facts is sometimes uncertain. The suggestion that the education bill of 1906 failed to pass because the British Medical Association did not support it is an interpretation that will surprise many. Again it can hardly be said that medical inspection was forced upon the Board of Education in 1907 when the permanent secretary, Robert Morant (whose importance in the health field is much underrated), had been scheming for this reform for two years.

Despite certain difficulties in fitting her chosen topic into the over-all political framework, Brand has written an important and useful book. It contains a valuable, if rather old, bibliography. The discussions of the evolution of the theories of contagious and epidemic disease are themselves worth the price of purchase. But there is much more to be done in this field. As the domestic social activities of government proliferate, the stories of political administration will come inevitably to deal less with the work of diplomats, soldiers, and empire builders and more with the accomplishments of men whose task lay not in the exercise of political authority, but in the provision of social service.

Colorado College BENTLEY B. GILBERT

THE DOMINION PARTNERSHIP IN IMPERIAL DEFENSE, 1870–1914. By *Donald C. Gordon*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 315. $7.50.)

THE two years before the alleged final demolition of the Victorian Empire by the 1966 White Paper on Defence saw three major works on the defense of that Empire at its peak. One was the present work on *The Dominion Partner-*

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ship. The others were Jay Luvaas' and Donald Schurman's partly complementary *The Education of an Army: British Military Thought, 1815–1940*, and *The Education of a Navy: The Development of British Naval Strategic Thought, 1867–1914*. While Luvaas covered a longer period, these works and those of Arthur Marder, Franklyn Johnson, and S. W. Roskill have related British navalism, militarism, and imperialism to each other in a far more satisfactory manner than is the case for any other great power of the 1870–1914 era. Professor Gordon's work, like the others, is solidly based on published and archival materials from all the "British" countries. No Indian materials were used, but "Anglo-Indian defense arrangements" did not require "collaboration between governments that drew their power from different political constituencies." While there are no references to the Union of South Africa, Louis Botha, or Jan Christiaan Smuts, the developments that led Frank Underhill, in one of the few key works not cited by Gordon (*The British Commonwealth* [1956]), to call the wartime Commonwealth the "Borden-Smuts Commonwealth" were then completely unexpected.

Four chapters cover the years from the mid-Victorian "recall of the legions" to the founding of the Colonial Defence Committee in 1885, three carry the story through the *"annus mirabilis"* of 1902, and the last five deal with everyone's sober second thoughts about the implications of the resulting arrangements for preserving colonial autonomy within the "Imperial" forces.

Only a few pages are devoted to the Imperial General Staff and its largely successful effort "to make the Canadian [or Australasian] militia man . . . into a replica of the British Tommy," or, more accurately, into a Terrier. While this was to prove far more important than the founding of the dominion navies, the great debates over naval policy completely obscured it. This is not to fault Gordon's fine book, but it does suggest that there is still room for major works on the "Imperial" and Indian armies. Gordon has concentrated on the problems that seemed most significant at the time to statesmen who always assumed that "the main burden of imperial defense rested with the Royal Navy." Though the author admits that "the defense of India was a major preoccupation, indeed, the major concern, of British officials for many of the years covered in this study," the oldest and largest of the Dominions was little concerned with the Pacific or Indian Oceans. Few Victorians could guess that Australasian conscripts might be sent to an American imperialist war with the disapproval of large sectors of British and Canadian public opinion. Good historian that he is, Gordon did not try to work out all the implications of the South African war, the point at which, to quote Underhill again, the Dominions "started their education in the facts of life in a hard world, where peace could no longer be counted on."

Duke University THEODORE ROPP

EDITH CAVELL: PIONEER AND PATRIOT. By *A. E. Clark-Kennedy*. (New York: Hillary House Publishers. 1965. Pp. 248. $6.00.)

To the present generation of historians, the execution of Edith Cavell by the Germans in 1915 is of primary importance only as an episode in the highly successful propaganda war waged by the Allies during World War I. The

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passage of time and the mass slaughter of civilians in more recent wars for lesser "crimes" than Cavell's tend to give an air of unreality to the emotionalism that burst forth in parts of the world following the news of her death. The fact remains that she was a "resistance worker" executed for the same reason the French shot Mata Hari—aiding a hostile power. Dr. Clark-Kennedy's book serves to remind us of the emotional legacies the events of World War I left with those who lived through them. The author is not detached from his subject; *Edith Cavell* is old-fashioned, partisan biography with only an occasional thin layer of objectivity.

Clark-Kennedy has been associated with the medical profession for about fifty years, but seems to have little interest in modern psychology. According to the author, the young Cavell, while serving as a governess, was asked by a child what her greatest ambition was. She replied, "To be buried in Westminster Abbey." Says the author: "either she intended to teach the children something about England and English history, or this was an expression of some deep-seated ambition. The latter possibility cannot be entirely ruled out."

Surprisingly, Clark-Kennedy seems slightly annoyed by the consequences of his subject's heroism; martyrdom, he feels, has obscured what should be her major claim to fame: her role as a pioneer in the history of nursing. This aspect of her life has been neglected, and the author's assertion that she was "*the* pioneer of better nursing in Belgium" seems valid. But her tragic involvement with war is the most dramatic part of the book, and while the author clears up a few inconsistencies and adds an occasional item of information, the general impression of this woman whose death served her country so well remains substantially the same.

The chapters on nursing should be of value to those interested in the history of medicine, but for the historian of World War I, the book is little more than a lengthy footnote.

University of Tennessee GALEN BROEKER

JOURNEY TO THE FRONTIER. JULIAN BELL & JOHN CORNFORD: THEIR LIVES AND THE 1930s. By *Peter Stansky* and *William Abrahams*. (London: Constable. 1966. Pp. xviii, 430. 50*s*.)

JULIAN Bell was the son of the art critic Clive Bell and the painter Vanessa Bell, the nephew of Leonard and Virginia Woolf, and the grandson of Sir Leslie Stephen. John Cornford, his younger contemporary, was the son of the classicist Frances Cornford and the great-grandson of Charles Darwin. Both young men graduated from Cambridge, both were poets, both became involved in radical politics, and both were killed in the Spanish Civil War, the first while driving an ambulance for the Loyalists and the second while fighting for them in the Fifteenth International Brigade. Taking these two men as representative of British intellectuals in the 1930's, using published materials, manuscripts in the possession of friends and heirs, and extensive interviews, combining the talents of historian (Stansky) and novelist (Abrahams), the authors have written a remarkably good book.

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The first section, devoted to Bell, is in part a deftly detailed history of Bloomsbury, of the milieu, or state of mind, created by G. E. Moore, John Maynard Keynes, E. M. Forster, Roger Fry, David Garnett, and Bell's own family. This section carries Bell through graduate study at Cambridge and into the mainstream of British poetry in the 1930's. Although the authors are sensitive in discussion of individual poems and in comparisons to Auden and others of the more famous Oxford Group, they are perhaps a little simplistic when they generalize: "The crucial point of difference between the writers of the 1930s and their immediate predecessors has more to do with history (content) than with literature (technique)." The second section is Cornford's. After an excellent account of childhood and early schooling, the emphasis is properly placed on his conversion to Communism and his career within the Communist party. The third section, the only place in the book where interest lags, is a slightly too elaborate account of Bell's stay at Wuhan National University. The fourth and last section, especially fine in its treatment of Cornford (for whom materials are more extensive), takes the young men to their deaths on the battlefield.

Within the narrow focus of their study, Stansky and Abrahams have done everything that could reasonably be expected of them. The narrowness of the focus is, indeed, the only point on which the authors are vulnerable. Every chapter of this truly excellent book is haunted by the ghost of the barely mentioned intellectual whose claim to representative status is at least as valid as Bell's or Cornford's: George Orwell.

Amherst College ALLEN GUTTMANN

FRANCE. By *John C. Cairns*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. x, 180. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.95.)

THIS book is an artfully balanced and amazingly compressed account of De Gaulle's France in historical perspective. A synthesis of the best scholarship on all aspects of French life, it seems to be designed primarily for students; yet professors, including specialists on France, can gain new insights from it. Professor Cairns has brought to his formidable task of condensation a broad cultural background and a keen sense of politics.

The best chapters deal topically with the events and trends of the past two decades. Cairns tells the story of France's loss of empire vividly and succinctly. His analysis of the politics of the Fifth Republic is penetrating and judicious. He gives an adequate account of France's recent economic history and as good an explanation as anyone can venture about that most puzzling (at least to Anglo-Saxons) topic: French foreign policy.

The Second World War was indeed the dominant factor in forcing France to reconsider its relations with the outside world as well as to revolutionize its economic performance and outlook. Both the Fourth and Fifth Republics sought international prestige and even leadership in the face of rebellious colonies, skeptical allies, and an insubordinate army. The author feels that the French have finally adapted themselves to the realities of contemporary power politics

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"with the ghosts of former defeats and unhappy days banished to the limbo of the past." With prosperity at home and with the Soviet Union in an apparently peaceful mood, President De Gaulle can afford the luxury of a policy of "taste," rather than of "necessity."

Cairns's forty-five-page summary of French history from Caesar to De Gaulle is a tour de force. The main trends are there, but even the most famous events sometimes get lost in a valiant effort at "coverage." Many sentences summarize whole topics, and so the student or general reader should be warned to ponder them carefully. The specialist will appreciate the wise interpretation of France's past as a long, tormented quest for unity, though he may wonder if this point might not have been made more effectively with fewer examples and fuller explanations; he will sense a certain amount of editorial slashing to fit the requirements of a preconceived format. Nevertheless, the author's crisp style and unflagging power of synthesis make this book a stimulating addition to the literature in its field.

New York University EDWARD R. TANNENBAUM

HISTOIRE DE BESANÇON. Volume II, DE LA CONQUÊTE FRANÇAISE À NOS JOURS. Published under the direction of *Claude Fohlen*. (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie de France. 1965. Pp. 754.)

THIS unusually detailed local history, handsomely printed and illustrated, consists of four essays by different authors: the first three treat Besançon from the early seventeenth century to 1945, while the last offers a two-hundred-page study in contemporary urban geography. Much of the historical work is based on archival materials, and, though the footnoting is inadequate, an ample bibliography is provided.

The essays are interesting in many respects. The authors are conscientiously comprehensive, dealing with urban government, social structure, economic activity, intellectual life, building programs, military affairs, and relations with other regions; this is a definitive general history of the city. Specific information is provided on many problems of broad importance: the administrative policies of Louis XIV; the spread of dechristianization, although limited in Besançon; the impact of the Revolution; the resistance movements and their aftermath. The treatment of administrative policies and social structure is particularly full and interesting, precisely the topics in which local history is most valuable.

With all its merits, however, the book does not attain the level of many of the recent regional studies that have been more restricted in chronological scope. The essays vary in quality, but there is often more than a touch of the old, anecdotal local history with its stress on buildings and royal visits. Generally the narrative interest triumphs over analysis, and occasionally the narrative itself is choppy. Periodization is often questionable, based primarily on developments in France as a whole.

The total result, however, is a useful addition to French local history, and the essay on contemporary Besançon is excellent. An interesting picture of a

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conservative, somewhat stagnant city, important more for military and administrative functions than for economic activity, emerges.

University of Chicago PETER N. STEARNS

DAVID HUME: PROPHET OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION. By *Laurence L. Bongie*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xvii, 182. $5.60.)

PROFESSOR Bongie's monograph in the history of ideas might have been titled "The Uses of Hume in Eighteenth-Century France." Drawing on the writings of both traditionalists and philosophes, the author sets out to demonstrate that Hume enjoyed a tremendous reputation in eighteenth-century France and that his *History of England during the Reigns of James I and Charles I* in particular was immediately and widely admired by men as far apart ideologically as Voltaire and Fréron. With considerable skill Bongie shows how the philosophes tended to stress that aspect of Hume which they found congenial—his critique of religion and his intermittent anticlericalism—and how traditionalists proved equally judicious in adopting and adapting Hume, the political conservative, to their own ends. As the ideological struggle tended to shift from religion to politics in the 1770's, and here the book follows Mornet's interpretation, Hume became increasingly useful to conservatives and less appealing to progressives. With the onset of the French Revolution, Hume's *History*, a veritable storehouse of apt analogies, proved irresistible to conservative politicians and pamphleteers. The whole second half of the monograph explores the role of the Puritan exemplar in the French political controversies of the 1790's. Bongie shows conclusively that the conservatives' appeal to the unhappy lessons of the Puritan revolution was a widespread and characteristic response to a variety of revolutionary crises.

In some respects this is a model monograph, intelligently marshaling the evidence for the ideological uses to which Hume's *History* was put in prerevolutionary and revolutionary France. Bongie seems to have read exhaustively in contemporary political literature to the point where his own style has taken on a pleasantly eighteenth-century cadence. Yet the study does raise some prickly questions, the most central being that of intellectual "influence." The author stresses the importance of Hume's influence. Admittedly, Hume was frequently cited and his *History* frequently pilfered; yet was Hume's influence a matter of substance or merely of form? Did his *History* actually change people's minds, or did it merely provide a convenient rationale for a certain political stance? Did Hume's influence extend to more than the style of argumentation? Secondly, Bongie does not always distinguish between Hume, the historian, and his subject matter, the Puritan revolution. The author proves that Hume's *History* was indeed widely praised, purchased, and possibly even read in France, yet the second half of *David Hume* deals less with appeals to Hume than with appeals to the precedents and analogies provided by the Puritan revolution itself. With or without relying on Hume, would Frenchmen living through a spectacular revolution not have seized upon the obvious analogies of the seventeenth-century

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English upheaval in any case? Finally, I must object mildly to a text interspersed with half-page quotations in French.

State University of New York, Binghamton PETER AMANN

L'APANAGE DE PHILIPPE-ÉGALITÉ, DUC D'ORLÉANS (1785–1791). By *Beatrice F. Hyslop*. Preface by *Marcel Reinhard*. [Bibliothèque d'histoire révolutionnaire, Third Series, Number 5.] (Paris: Société des Études Robespierristes. 1965. Pp. xli, 452.)

THIS book is the product of years of research, meditation, and writing. In its preparation Beatrice Hyslop ransacked the archives of the House of Orléans at Dreux, the cartons of six great series at the Archives Nationales, the manuscripts of several other archival collections, and memoirs, letters, and monographs of every description. From the first two grand divisions of the volume emerges a detailed portrayal of the nature and complicated administration and management of a French princely estate on the eve of the Revolution. The appanage comprised vast territories, perhaps a twentieth of the kingdom, grouped around Paris. Cultivated land, income-producing forests, toll-collecting canals, seigneurial dues, and regalian rights (chiefly, sales and stamp taxes) yielded a net annual revenue of over three million livres. Traditionally, Philippe-Égalité, duke of Orléans from 1785 to his death on the guillotine in 1793, has been viewed as a dissolute, frivolous, and shallow intriguer, but in this volume he appears as an astute manager of his properties. He administered his property through a chancellor, a council, and a hierarchy of local officials. He appointed able chancellors, Charles Louis Ducrest (1786–1787), a tested administrator, and Louis Latouche-Tréville (1788–1790), a naval captain who became a brilliant admiral under Napoleon. The chancellor met regularly with the council to consider renewal of leases, payment of seigneurial dues, charitable gifts, expenses, diverse nominations, and permissions to cut wood. By making physical improvements, reviving seigneurial dues that had been allowed to lapse (the book adds considerable information on the "feudal reaction" of the 1780's), and instituting economies, the ducal administration markedly increased the gross and net revenues of the appanage in 1786 and in 1787. The appanage and Philippe-Égalité then became involved with the events of the Revolution, as the third grand division of the volume shows. Through the era of troubles the ducal administration loyally and ably persevered in the performance of its duties. However, the depression of 1788 and 1789 and the abolition of seigneurial dues by the National Assembly diminished receipts, although not as much as might have been expected. The increase of the annual net revenue was halted. Philippe-Égalité was a leader of the liberal nobility and an admirer of England. He expressed a willingness to exchange the troubled administration of an appanage for a guaranteed annual payment from the civil list. He got his wish, at least temporarily, when on January 1, 1791, the appanage became national property and he was accorded an indemnity and an annual pension.

It is probably impossible in a review of this length to convey a sense of the massive documentation and knowledge that inform every page of this book.

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One can only pay the volume tribute. It has solidity, organization, clarity, and significance, in the very best tradition of American and French monographic scholarship. One does not see how the project could have been accomplished any better.

Duke University HAROLD T. PARKER

LA VIE POLITIQUE EN FRANCE DEPUIS 1789. Volume I, 1789–1848. By *René Rémond*. [Collection U, Series "Histoire contemporaine."] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1965. Pp. 423. 30 fr.)

THIS is the first of a two-volume college textbook on French political history since 1789. The collection of which it is a part contains other volumes with other emphases: economic, social, and intellectual. While such an organization suffers from a minimizing of the interrelationship of these various aspects of human life, still it benefits from a sharper focus on—in this case—the political side of French life and history. The author also makes a laudable contribution by joining the methods of political science to those of history in such a way as to benefit students in both fields. One of the fine lessons that this book has for students of both history and politics is that there is a continuity of political attitudes and practices across the centuries. Just as Tocqueville, in his *Ancien Régime et la Révolution,* shows the continuity between these two periods, so does Rémond for the continuity between revolutionary and nineteenth-century France. Indeed, he treats the Bourbon Restoration and the Orléans monarchy as one unit because there was so much political continuity between them. In the topical discussions within each period (Revolution, Empire, and constitutional monarchies) he gives much attention to constitutions, institutions, parliaments, elections, parties, civil rights, and public opinion. Two valuable features of this book are the reproduction at the end of each chapter of extracts from key documents and bibliographical reference lists for further reading.

In spite of the book's general excellence and the author's many valuable observations and insights, there seem to be, in my opinion, a few omissions that would have even strengthened his theme of continuity. For example, he follows the traditional republican apology for the Terror by blaming it entirely on the war—"la Terreur sort directement de la guerre"—rather than pointing out that both war and terror may well have come from the brutal discontinuity in the destruction of monarchy, nobility, and Church in the early years of the Revolution. This is not brought out, nor is the fact that order was restored simultaneously with Napoleon's re-establishment of all three continuities. In discussing the religious aspects of nationalism the author might also have mentioned the altars to the *patrie,* the liberty trees, the holy orders of Jacobins and Cordeliers, and the crusades to the four corners of Europe. Finally it is quite in character for an American reviewer to regret the lack of a detailed index. This is the type of excellent, sophisticated, and informative textbook, however, that should also be written in other countries for use in specialized courses.

University of Pennsylvania LYNN M. CASE

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LES INSTITUTIONS DE LA FRANCE DE 1814 À 1870. By *Félix Ponteil.* [Histoire des institutions.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1966. Pp. viii, 489. 32 fr.)

HISTORIANS familiar with Jacques Godechot's *Les Institutions de la France sous la Révolution et l'Empire* (1951) will welcome the appearance of this companion volume in the same series. Its 450 pages are a tightly packed storehouse of the kinds of information on the institutions of four successive French regimes that the historian, whatever his specialty, frequently needs. Lucidly written, the book invites sustained reading, but it will, I am certain, be valued chiefly as a reference work. Its systematic organization and a full index facilitate quick consultation. It is divided into four principal parts: one on each of the four regimes between 1815 and 1870, and the successive chapters, arranged in approximately the same pattern in all four parts, take up constitutional laws, administrative organization, courts and the bar, financial institutions, economic institutions, social institutions (including classes, the family, public assistance), churches, the university and private schools, and press and theater. Full bibliographies precede each chapter and each specialized section within the chapters; they have a special merit of including publications from the faculties of law often overlooked by historians.

As a synthesis of a vast literature, the book inevitably reflects the unevenness with which its broad subject has been studied. It includes, for example, no more than passing mention of the *Corps des Ponts et Chaussées* and the *Gendarmerie.* Some topics are treated in depth and with sophistication—the constitutions of the monarchy and of the Second Republic, for example; others such as the evolution of the Liberal Empire and professional engineering education receive only superficial descriptive treatment. A few surprising lacunae might have been readily filled: the army is omitted altogether, and the National Guard, although briefly mentioned half a dozen times, never emerges as an important institution. The bibliographies omit a number of pertinent titles by British and American historians, such as Douglas Johnson on Guizot, Theodore Zeldin on the political system of Napoleon III, David Landes on banking under the Second Empire, and Howard Payne on the imperial police. But these are venial faults. In making available so much information, in such convenient form, so clearly presented, Professor Ponteil has put all historians of modern France in his debt.

University of Washington DAVID H. PINKNEY

LES FORCES RELIGIEUSES DANS LA SOCIÉTÉ FRANÇAISE. By *Aline Coutrot* and *François G. Dreyfus.* [Collection U, Series "Société politique."] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1965. Pp. 343. 22 fr.)

THIS volume is part of a new series of manuals for French university students. Each of its ten chapters is supplemented by a short selection of documents and a list of recent monographs (including some by Americans). Although a bit overorganized, it contains useful and up-to-date information on all aspects of religious activity in France. The first third sketches the history of Catholicism (Protestantism is covered briefly) from 1870 to 1945, showing its predominantly

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traditionalist character, the emergence of liberal and democratic forces in the 1930's, and the ultimate acceptance by most Catholics of a plurality of political choices. The second third describes the organization of the churches, of the religious press, and of the various confessional movements, while the last third deals with their public activities.

Many of the basic trends indicated will be familiar to those who have read André Latreille, Adrien Dansette, René Rémond, and Gabriel Le Bras, although Le Bras gives considerably lower estimates of the proportion of baptized and practicing Catholics than the 94 and 34.2 per cent respectively offered here, taken from Canon Boulard's 1947 study. A latent conflict still exists between most of the practicing Catholics, who remain conservative, and the minority of militant laymen and priests who are trying to adapt the Church to a rapidly changing civilization. This "modern" outlook also dominates France's largest Catholic daily, the erstwhile *bien-pensant La Croix*. Believers are generally more interested in politics, and vote more often, than unbelievers, but they are far more likely to join a labor union than a political party. Since 1945 the hierarchy and the lay organizations have been particularly concerned with social justice and other moral issues, especially torture during the Algerian war. Certain prelates even speak openly of the need to change an unjust social order; apropos of the 1963 miners' strike, Monsignor Huygues, bishop of Arras, said that "Christ did not come to preach resignation, and it is not the role of the Church to say to those who are suffering: 'Resign yourself to suffer on earth while waiting for happiness in heaven.'" The main theme of this book is that religion, like almost all aspects of French culture, is abandoning tradition for innovation. Just as the Catholic Church has accepted its place in a pluralistic society, so non-Catholics have lost most of their anticlericalism.

New York University EDWARD R. TANNENBAUM

AUX ORIGINES DU COMMUNISME FRANÇAIS, 1914–1920: CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE DU MOUVEMENT OUVRIER FRANÇAIS. In two volumes. By *Annie Kriegel*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI[e] Section, Sciences économiques et sociales. Société, mouvements sociaux et idéologies. First Series, Études, Number 6.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1964. Pp. 547; 556–995. Glds. 40.)

MADAM Kriegel has seen her subject in broad terms and pursued it in great depth. Her book is a landmark in our knowledge of French labor, public opinion, socialism, and Communism in the period she has made her own by this work and a number of shorter volumes and articles she has recently published.

Her argument would be impossible to summarize in more space than I have. She does not see the split in the French labor and socialist movement and the establishment of the Communist presence in France primarily in terms of economic and social forces or of currents of thought, let alone of historical inevitability. Instead she stresses a series of circumstances, French and European, many of them apparently minor in themselves at the time, and the responses of many individuals and organizations. To be sure, the erudite academic who acquired

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elements of shrewd judgment of men and movements in her years in the Communist party has not dropped, with her party affiliation, all the Marxist concern with economic process and social structure. But these she handles diffusely, whereas she is minute on the events, the chronology, and the responses of individuals and organized groups and *groupuscules* to World War I and the Russian Revolution. She lets events and crises bring out many old relationships and long-run trends. Of course she is not infallible. She thinks, for example, that postwar reconstruction and reconversion had to be accompanied by economic crisis: the experience after World War II is enough to demonstrate the contrary.

The documentation of this work is impressive and exciting. Fortune smiling upon imagination and persistence, the author has had access to police archives, judicial records, industrial (railroad) archives, and the personal collections and recollections of a dying generation of interesting Leftist leaders and activists, along with the more usually accessible collections of documents. In the police files, she may well have seen copies of the official minutes of directing organs of unions and the General Confederation of Labor, whose own manuscript archives for the period cannot be found. The author's one major disappointment (hardly a surprise) was her inability to use any records of the USSR or the Third International.

In text and, especially, footnotes, Kriegel carries on a cogent discussion with the reader and, one suspects, especially with her former comrades of Marxist persuasion on the relationships between personalities and social forces, the role of chance and of circumstance, the relationships of economic and social structures to political movements and social change. She also carries on a lively discussion of the nature and availability of source materials; her references to materials that can and should be further exploited are pertinent and helpful.

The book began as an attempt to "make a structural study of the origins of the phenomenon of communism in France." "Along the way, and as if under the constraint of the information assembled," the book became one emphasizing "politics, events, archives," all that its ambitious author had earlier thought "the height of insipidity." Far from insipidity, these meaty volumes have not only body, which all specialists must now absorb, but also a savor, which should appeal to many generalists and comparative historians.

University of Oregon VAL R. LORWIN

LOST SOLDIERS: THE FRENCH ARMY AND EMPIRE IN CRISIS, 1947–1962. By *George Armstrong Kelly*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1965. Pp. x, 404. $10.00.)

MR. Kelly's book examines the reasons for the "political vocation" of the French Army in modern times. The author begins by showing how a vulnerable army was misused by a postwar regime that refused to recognize the new "indivisibility of war and peace." Instead, the Fourth Republic clung to the old ways of its predecessor in civil-military affairs, allowing itself to be trapped into two ultimately unpopular wars both of which could be neither won nor lost. Perhaps the worst result of the Indochinese experience was the narcotic that the army

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fashioned for itself out of the new Asian theory of total war, the *guerre révolutionnaire.* An imperfect explanation of reality in its Manichaean view of the world, its monistic theory of contemporary history, and its purblind denial of non-French nationalism, it was applied by its disciples to the Algerian conflict.

Kelly describes how the colonels and generals, who saw this second war in terms of an ideological struggle for control of the civilian population, plotted against the regime, hastened its demise in May and June 1958, and even accepted De Gaulle, albeit as a *pis aller,* as Caesar. But instead of bringing victory, the new "political vocation" set off a paralyzing struggle within the army between obedience and honor, between the desire for unity and the desperate need for self-esteem. The author makes it clear that the eventual triumph of the traditional values and role was not due to the army's enthusiastic endorsement of them. It stemmed rather from the fact that at the critical moment—the second civil-military crisis at Algiers in January 1960 known as the "Barricades"—the army was immobilized by its inner dilemmas and lost its only opportunity to make a success of the new "vocation." Kelly sees the "generals' putsch" of 1961 and the Secret Army terror of 1961–1962 as an epilogue to this main drama, as well as an indication that the extended aim of the "activist" partisans of the *guerre révolutionnaire*—control of the home population and hence of the nation's decision-making powers—could not be achieved, at least for the present. He concludes by describing the muted, resentful, and scarified state of the army at the end of 1962, the lessons of its terrifying past, the portents of its perhaps even more awesome future beginning to impress themselves upon other soldiers in other lands.

Kelly's account is based entirely on published, chiefly journalistic, sources. The nature of the topic severely circumscribed his materials, and the author is aware of their limitations. There are some rather surprising omissions in the bibliography, including Jules Roy's *Le metier des armes,* Juin's memoirs, and Boyer de Latour du Moulin's account. Some of the literature appearing since 1962–1963—Charnay's, Girardet's, and Juin's studies and Ely's memoirs—would have enriched the book, but would not have altered its sound conclusions. Its excellent organization is counterbalanced, however, by a very uneven style. A certain insensitivity may be detected on occasion toward the quite valid fears of the French Left during the period covered and toward the tragic problem of twentieth-century French parliamentary government vis-à-vis its military assassins. The author's necessary suspension of the more obvious moral judgments leads inevitably to a certain ambiguity that affects an otherwise excellent section on torture and also the entire treatment of De Gaulle as hero and plotter, creator and destroyer. Perhaps most distressing to the historian is a far too frequent lack of reference to the sources in the French past of the key problems, attitudes, and relationships under scrutiny here, or to the sizable literature on this past. The result is much less perspective and insight than one would desire concerning such topics as relations between army, regime, state, and nation, civilian direction of the military, the army's view of history, its veto power in national life, its conditional obedience, its plotting. The top of the iceberg shows, but its vast bulk remains hidden.

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Only with these qualifications in mind can this book be accepted as a history of the contemporary French Army seen within the framework of the upheaval in the modern French Empire and of the country's general political development. Kelly's point of view, sympathetic toward the army's difficulties and objective toward the fateful result of military action, is greatly needed. His book's prime merit is that it describes far more fully than other accounts in English *how* the French soldier became lost in very recent times. It is far less successful, however, in explaining *why* he strayed into the paths of perdition.

Trinity College PHILIP C. F. BANKWITZ

NAPOLEON AND THE BIRTH OF MODERN SPAIN. Volume I, THE CHALLENGE TO THE OLD ORDER; Volume II, THE STRUGGLE, WITHOUT AND WITHIN. By *Gabriel H. Lovett.* ([New York:] New York University Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 414; 416–884. $10.00 each.)

GABRIEL Lovett's history conveys the drama and color of Spain during the Napoleonic invasion, no mean achievement. He is at his best on narrative of military events, but he also deals carefully with political developments, especially the failure of Joseph Bonaparte on one side and the Cortes of Cádiz on the other to set up regimes that could reform the country and survive. Frequently he approaches his subject through vignettes of leading figures: King Joseph, Jovellanos, the generals, the guerrillas, and, in one of his finest chapters, the leading writers. Consciously reminding us of our own times, he imparts the tragedy of intellectuals divided by civil war. In his judgments on these men, he reveals his deep love of Spain and devotion to the concept of national independence. However much he recognizes the altruism and anguish of many Spaniards who supported Joseph, he condemns them: "Does one's sacred obligation to oppose any unprovoked invasion of one's motherland not constitute the basic, decisive criterion for judging one's actions in such a situation?"

Lovett has devoted an immense amount of labor to his book. He has used extensively the national archives and palace archives in Madrid, many available published contemporary sources and eyewitness accounts, and a vast quantity of historical literature written since then, much of it the result of a recent revival of interest in the period. He does not succeed in imparting a coherent personal interpretation to all this information and these points of view, but this is, nevertheless, the best account of Spain in this period now available in English.

By the "birth of modern Spain" he means the country's division into two warring political factions. Correctly he sees their origin in the disputes over the anticlerical and antioligarchic measures of the Cortes of Cádiz. After the misgovernment of Charles IV, most Spaniards desired some kind of reform. The disasters of war provided a unique opportunity for liberals with a clear program to take control, but the large landowners and clergy, who still dominated the mass of Spaniards, were able to discredit their reforms.

Casting aside the usual explanation that "the liberals did not really represent the will of the broad mass of the Spanish people," Lovett feels they might have

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won lasting support if they had appealed to the lower classes with more radical measures. This judgment recalls similar criticism of the first Cortes of the Second Republic, but it lacks weight without consideration of the nature of popular ideology, communications, the web of government, peasant-landlord relations—all the social, cultural, and institutional realities that today's historians believe underlie political developments. The major weakness of Lovett's book is a failure to grasp current historical concepts and methods, for which all the excellence of narrative and style cannot fully compensate.

University of California, Berkeley RICHARD HERR

THE SIEGE OF THE ALCÁZAR. By *Cecil D. Eby.* (New York: Random House. 1965. Pp. 242. $4.95.)

THE siege of the Alcázar de Toledo was the most widely publicized military incident of the Spanish Civil War. Thousands of pages and at least ten books have been written about it, but heretofore all commentary has been polemical in tone or purpose. Cecil D. Eby has prepared the first objective account of the seventy-day siege of the military academy.

Since original source material scarcely exists, study of the Alcázar episode for the most part amounts to sifting the narratives published by participants and their supporters. This problem is merely a microcosm of the greater difficulties that still beset broader study of the Civil War itself. Consequently Eby's book is a "construct" built from conflicting and contradictory materials rather than a fully documented account resting on unequivocal source material. Because of the uncertainty of available references, it would seem doubtful that the author can be completely sure of the details on any given page. He has written without footnotes, though two brief essays on sources at the end of the book provide some indication of the material on which the narrative is based.

There is no mention of Antonio Vilanova Fuentes' *La defensa del Alcázar de Toledo* (1963), the last book on the topic to appear before Eby's. Vilanova Fuentes' work is, like all the preceding volumes, highly polemical and indulges in figure juggling and logic chopping. Yet it is the only previous work to argue on the basis of comparative analysis of sources and the only book to collect original documentation from the Republican side. Comparison of Vilanova Fuentes and Eby on particular points reveals that the former raises a number of significant questions that the latter either ignores or quickly passes over. Prime examples in Vilanova Fuentes are the problem of the civil governor of Toledo, the visit of Vázquez Camarasa, the question of conditional surrender, and the number of desertions. It seems altogether unlikely that Eby can be as certain of statistics as his manuscript would assume. The problem of getting accurate numbers for different aspects of the siege is best revealed by Vilanova Fuentes.

After these uncertainties and lacunae have been pointed out, it must be emphasized that Eby has in general provided the most objective reconstruction of this complex episode that has yet been written. If his narrative fails at a few specific points, it is the only one that can be recommended as offering a reason-

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ably accurate over-all perspective of the siege and so stands far above its predecessors. Equally important are the vivid tone and fine literary polish that make it a pleasure to read and, in my opinion, earn it the distinction of being perhaps the best-written narrative that has so far appeared on any aspect of the Spanish Civil War.

University of California, Los Angeles STANLEY G. PAYNE

JAN VAN BROUCHOVEN, GRAAF VAN BERGEYCK 1644–1725: EEN HALVE EEUW STAATKUNDE IN DE SPAANSE NEDERLANDEN EN IN EUROPA. By *Reginald de Schryver*. [Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren, Jaargang XXVII, Number 57.] (Brussels: the Academie. 1965. Pp. 528. 1,000 fr. B.)

JAN van Brouchoven, count of Bergeyck, was "the only statesman of stature in the Southern Netherlands of his time," in the words of his biographer, Reginald de Schryver. As treasurer general of the Spanish Low Countries for more than two decades, Bergeyck was virtual governor of the country, ruling those, like Max Emanuel of Bavaria, who ruled it in name for Spain. As a major participant in the swirling diplomacy of the Spanish succession in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, he won the respect, admiration, and sometimes fear of kings, generals, and diplomats for his intelligence and vigor in the conduct of affairs. Yet he has escaped the attention of all but the specialist historian. Now, for the first time, he has attained the dignity of an adequate biography, which illuminates not only the life of a statesman whose utmost efforts were unable to halt the debacle of Spain's rule in the Low Countries but also the institutions and problems of a small country fated to have history happen to it rather than to make it. The study transcends the boundaries of the Spanish Netherlands, however; it is a major contribution to the history of Europe in the Age of Louis XIV. We see why the French pattern of administration by specialized ministers was then the model of good government, and why a reforming statesman like Bergeyck had such difficulty in introducing it in the place of the "good old" institutions of councils and States; we note, with surprise in view of the bad press achieved by the farmers-general in France in the eighteenth century, that Bergeyck considered farming out of the customs and the domains a more efficient means of collecting revenues, cheaper for government and population alike, than direct administration by the state. De Schryver's analysis of the political loyalties of Bergeyck is of notable interest; the Count was a man who frequently took the harder way for the sake of principle, but that principle was not clearly either patriotism or dynastic loyalty, although he served well both country and king; perhaps most of all, it was the opportunity to serve and to govern, to exercise his mind and will upon the stuff of politics for which he seems to have been born.

De Schryver has scoured the archives of eight countries and printed works by the hundreds for this long study, but he has mastered his massive documentation so well that his narrative and the analytic sections set into it are models of

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clarity. A fifteen-page summary in French is given for the reader who does not have a command of Dutch.

Rutgers University HERBERT H. ROWEN

SVENSK OPINION OCH DIPLOMATI UNDER RYSK-JAPANSKA KRIGET, 1904–1905. By *Torsten Burgman*. [Studia Historica Upsaliensia, Number 18.] ([Stockholm:] Svenska Bokförlaget. 1965. Pp. viii, 282.)

IN subject, text, content, method, and style this dissertation typifies Swedish research publications. Its purpose is to display the author's erudite knowledge and techniques by a thorough examination of Swedish opinion and diplomacy during the Russo-Japanese War. The work exceeds both period and subject; the volume would be slim if confined to the diplomatic aspects, or exceedingly thick if the amassed opinions of newspapers, persons, and government bureaus found voice.

Torsten Burgman opens his study with a commentary on international opinion in 1904–1905 and follows with a minute examination of Swedish reactions to the Russo-Japanese War in 1904. Transferring to a topical scheme, he expands on the "yellow period" theme, the murder of N. I. Bobrikov in Finland and V. K. von Plehve in Russia, with a brief sketch of "Bloody Sunday" and the outbreak of the 1905 Revolution. Swedish neutrality (unneutrality claimed the Russian government) in Finnish revolutionary activity moved officials to maneuver the press away from advocacy of a strong pro-Finnish stand. A debate between Sven Hedin, the explorer, and Professor Harald Hjärne on Swedish defense and fears of Russia forms a bridge to a longer concluding discussion of Swedish defense policy in these years. There are an excellent English summary (without proofing errors as in the text), a good bibliography, and a name index.

Critical comment can begin with the usual phrase that the work is thorough, albeit unimaginative as most Swedish predoctoral studies, to which might be added a word on the impossibility of organization or prevention of tedium in collating newspaper sources and materials. The use of historical analysis is limited, as could be expected. The role of Norwegian-Swedish relations and the impact of the union's end in 1905 deserve more space because of their influences on defense, attitudes toward England, increased fears of Russia, and withdrawal from Scandinavian involvement. The last arose from Russia's defeat; otherwise Swedish policy would have been directed either to an entente or an alliance with Germany. The Russo-Japanese War brought technical changes in Swedish weaponry and defense, provided Norwegian opportunism room to stage the dissolution of the union, and reinforced Swedish Russophobia. Burgman reduces the last to small proportions, although at the time constant references appeared in the Swedish press about chauvinistic and expansionist Russian ambitions in Northern Europe.

The work merits study for its information about Swedish views and politics in these two years. It does not, however, provide new information on the subject, only more details; nor is it a model of Swedish historical writing.

California State College, Long Beach RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

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ENLIGHTENED BUREAUCRACY VERSUS ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM IN BADEN, 1750–1792. By *Helen P. Liebel.* [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LV, Part 5.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1965. Pp. 132. $3.50.)

Helen Liebel has undertaken a study of the government and administration of Baden under the rule of its "enlightened despot," the *Markgraf* Karl Friedrich. She especially wanted to see what connection might have existed between Baden's physiocratic experiments before the French Revolution and its importance after 1815 as a main center of German liberalism. In a more general way, she tries to discover whether there was, in eighteenth-century Baden, a "rising middle class" which might have had a liberalizing influence or whose character might help to explain some peculiarities of the subsequent liberal tradition.

The results of the study are significant and in part unexpected. There was no rising middle class, for Baden was not a highly urbanized region; in the late eighteenth century, moreover, its industry was suffering from foreign competition, and agrarian distress was aggravated by population pressure. Yet there was a class that the author calls a "bourgeoisie," though the term may not be entirely apt, considering that—as Liebel shows—we are dealing with old patrician families, many stemming from the highest class of the imperial free cities. At any rate, we may agree that they were distinct from the military nobility and formed a kind of untitled *"noblesse de robe,"* highly cultivated and frequently trained in law and economics. From this class Karl Friedrich drew his chief councilors and administrators.

Liebel finds that the *Markgraf*'s attempts to introduce physiocratic ideas were opposed by his "bourgeois" ministers and that these "enlightened bureaucrats" had a far better grasp of the state's real problems than did their absolutist master. They saw clearly, for example, that it was necessary to emancipate the peasantry and to promote industrialization. Their success in urging these policies was strictly limited before the Revolution, but "the bureaucrats ultimately succeeded in imposing a kind of limited monarchy on the Markgraf, and in this sense they won a victory that made possible the later strong emergence of liberalism in the German southwest." As for the quality of this liberalism, Liebel argues persuasively that much of its antirationalism, antipopulism, and historicism can be traced to the thought of Johann Georg Schlosser, brother-in-law of Goethe and a leading exemplar of Baden's "enlightened bureaucracy."

One could wish that the editing and proofreading of this excellent monograph had been as carefully done as its scholarship. It is, nevertheless, a most instructive and suggestive contribution to a subject that has needed this sort of analytical treatment.

Northern Illinois University Ralph H. Bowen

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TAGEBÜCHER. By *Leopold von Ranke*. Edited by *Walther Peter Fuchs*. [Aus Werk und Nachlass, Volume I. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.] (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 1964. Pp. 550. DM 48.)

RANKE's posthumous reputation has not done justice to him. Misunderstood and rarely read in the English-speaking countries, he has often been invoked in Germany to justify dubious causes. The central place of Ranke in German intellectual history has long been acknowledged, and the literature on Ranke exceeds the prodigious output of the master. A comprehensive analysis of his life and work, however, remains to be done.

The sources for such an effort exist, and the present volume would itself be a rich mine. Ranke published forty-eight volumes of collected works; after his death, Alfred Dove published the beginnings of Ranke's world history and a volume of his letters, autobiographical fragments, and excerpts from his diaries. But his *Nachlass* was richer still, and an attempt to illuminate Ranke's published works by his unpublished notes and drafts was begun in the 1920's with Paul Joachimsen's massive edition of the Reformation history. In recent years, the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy resumed the task: "To fathom and make comprehensible the historical thinker in his milieu, his development, and his intellectual wrestling with the world [*geistige Weltbewältigung*] is the principal aim of the concern today with his unpublished papers." This first volume of a projected edition of the *Nachlass* presents the fullest selection of Ranke's diaries which he kept from his school days to the end—in classic chaos and in nearly illegible form. (What one expert read as *tierisch* another deciphered as *möglich!*) Undated entries about diverse subjects he filed and refiled among miscellaneous notebooks, and one can only marvel that so neat and orderly a mind should have tolerated such divine disorder.

W. P. Fuchs, who in 1949 published a collection of Ranke's letters, imposed some order on these entries by subsuming them under headings such as biography, theology, philosophy, aesthetics, art, and contemporary history. Some of the entries have been previously published, but Fuchs's selection will remain the definitive fragment of fragments and, if read in closest conjunction with Ranke's letters and other works, provides a comprehensive view of his thought.

Read alone, the *Tagebücher* tantalize rather than inform. Fuchs's claim that they reveal "how elemental was [Ranke's] struggle to attain his own understanding of the world and of his own prescribed task therein" can be inferred rather than substantiated from these pages. His earliest poems and reflections record his love of life and virtue, his unacknowledged proximity to the *Goethezeit*, his critical reading of the classics, his concern even then with the relation of art to science, and his interest in one and his commitment to the other. In his school days, he already brooded about how the past could be reconstructed; his later thoughts on history are largely familiar. His related comments on human nature are less well known and often perspicacious. We learn that he admired Plato, but not Kant: "The whole Kantian system despite many individual great and truly immortal ideas is in its innermost nature . . . godless and hopeless." Such remarks,

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however, are but signposts of his intellectual development; they reveal the direction rather than the nature of the voyage.

So, it was, too, with his aesthetic concerns which, according to Fuchs's reading of the *Nachlass,* were of lasting importance to him. Perhaps, but the present volume brings only Ranke's occasional remarks on paintings which he scrutinized for meaning in much the same way as he read historical documents. In these realms his silences are perhaps even more revealing than his occasionally incisive comments about a work of art. He never even mentioned contemporary artists and writers—the young Germans, Fontane, Nietzsche, or Wagner—and it would seem that he lived in cultural isolation from his own age.

This of course was not true of contemporary politics. Nearly half the *Tagebücher* deal with contemporary history and contain his political observations. Many entries have already appeared in Dove's edition, though Dove suppressed a few passages that he thought untimely. As Fuchs says courteously, Dove's "picture of Ranke is politically stylized." Ranke's cautious criticism of Bismarck was the principal victim of Dove's editing. Thus Dove printed Ranke's account of October 1870 concerning the origins of the Franco-Prussian War, which implicitly exculpated Bismarck from responsibility, but his explicit judgment three months later did not: "The outbreak did come about differently from what one thought. B[ismarck] resolved on war here." In 1877, Ranke wrote—and Dove later deleted it—that Bismarck's decision to resign had sprung from anger: "Because anger has ever been the source of his impulses." In his psychological appraisals Ranke was remarkably free of the conventional sentimentality of his day. The political entries deepen the impression of Ranke's conservatism, moderated as it was by wisdom and resignation, quickened by his monarchism which was made up of political principle and personal satisfaction at being an accepted and esteemed member of an aristocratic society. Ranke's views have been brilliantly analyzed in Rudolf Vierhaus' *Ranke und die soziale Welt,* and the present volume offers occasional amplification but no substitute for that work.

The *Tagebücher* will be of greatest use to the Ranke expert who can supply the necessary connections between these often truncated and allusive statements and the rest of Ranke's thought. Nevertheless, the editor, who performed a heroic feat of decoding, provides an overelaborate but misplaced apparatus of footnotes, designed for the historical illiterate. He identifies what any historian would know: the Battle of Wagram, Sir Robert Peel, and various monarchs, and in these gratuitous notes an occasional error slips in. References to relevant letters or essays would have enhanced the value of this work far more. As it is, the *Tagebücher* provide intimations of Ranke's intellect and occasional insights into his versatile and noble mind which harbored few illusions about mankind and nevertheless cherished high moral aspirations.

Columbia University FRITZ STERN

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BISMARCK AND MODERN GERMANY. By *W. N. Medlicott.* [Teach Yourself History Library.] (Mystic, Conn.: Lawrence Verry. 1965. Pp. vi, 200. $2.50.)

THIS is a remarkable little book. On 194 octavo pages Professor Medlicott manages to tell his story effectively, concisely, and considerably better than other authors have done in more elaborate studies. Following the policies of the series "to meet the needs and demands of a very wide public," this volume is not based on research in primary sources. The author's aim was rather "to give a brief survey of Bismarck's whole career in the light of the more critical estimates of his work which have appeared in Germany since 1945." Such surveys are usually tedious or dull; this book is neither. It is well written, draws some definite conclusions, and covers the major foreign and domestic aspects of Bismarck's policies.

The Chancellor who emerges from this study is neither a giant father figure who had foreseen and planned everything nor the Machiavellian politician whose ruthless determination had made him the arbiter of all Europe. He is rather a statesman of great political ability, more successful than any of his contemporaries, whose aims and ambitions he fulfilled beyond their fondest dreams. He achieved this not by specific plan or unchangeable principle, but by improvising and adapting his policies to the demands of the hour. "At every turn of his career," writes Medlicott, "he was the agent and exploiter of forces and policies which he was later believed, in the days of his towering eminence, to have created." His most important failure was his inability to educate his countrymen to be politically responsive and to provide for a worthy successor.

To anyone who wants to understand Bismarck and nineteenth-century Germany this is a most useful introduction and survey.

Washington, D. C. GEORGE O. KENT

KLEINE GESCHICHTE DER DEUTSCHEN FLOTTE. By *Fritz E. Giese.* (Berlin: Haude & Spenersche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1966. Pp. 207. DM 19.80.)

THE appearance of a West German fleet in the last decade makes Commander Giese's survey of the German Navy since 1848 particularly topical. With clarity of thought and expression, he has succeeded in his stated aims of tracing the checkered course of one of the great navies of the world, of delineating and evaluating the various fleet plans, and of defending West German construction of naval forces.

The navy of the Frankfurt Parliament was dissolved in the 1850's, some ships passing symbolically to Prussia. Naval officers were often recruited elsewhere, showing the traditional willingness of Prussia to draw on men of talent wherever they were to be found. During the wars of unification, the Prussian fleet played a useful, if undistinguished, role. A symbol of unity, it officially became the Imperial German Navy in 1872. Viewed by Moltke and the Prussian generals who commanded it as subordinate to the army, it assumed an independent role under Tirpitz and William II. Whether this emergence of a large fleet reflected Ger-

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many's true interests is a question judiciously raised, but not answered, by Giese. Restricted drastically at the armistice and Versailles, the fleet was again expanded by Hitler. He set goals to achieve a powerful navy by 1948, but 1945 brought its total destruction. The demands of the cold war, however, caused its re-emergence under the able aegis of Vice-Admiral Ruge, who has since been a pioneer in putting the study of German naval history on a sound basis.

Giese's approach is largely chronological with the greatest emphasis on construction, the names of ships, fleet employment overseas, and combat actions. The interaction of the navy with politics and changes in organization, technology, and strategic ideas receives mention but little stress. The sources are entirely German. The disclaimer that many naval works were destroyed by bombing is not entirely convincing, when works of the caliber of Persius' critique of the Imperial Navy and Hassell's study of Stosch and Tirpitz are omitted. There are no footnotes.

The usefulness to historians of this excellent brief introduction to German naval history is enhanced by a list of chief naval officials and a reliable index.

Duke University FREDERIC B. M. HOLLYDAY

ORGANIZATION AND REVOLUTION: WORKING-CLASS ASSOCIATIONS IN THE GERMAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1848–1849. By *P. H. Noyes*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 434. $10.00.)

THIS sort of book demonstrates once again that a perceptive, diligent scholar can find something important and original to say about even the most familiar subject. What writer on German history has not at one time or another tried his hand at the Revolution of 1848, even if only in an article or chapter? Yet P. H. Noyes tell us things about it we have never known before or at least not known well enough. Avoiding the hackneyed rehashes of ideological and political conflicts that fill too many works on the period, he turned to the neglected labor organizations of the Revolution. And here he found new source materials of the greatest importance. The fifty-five volumes of records of the economic committee of the Frankfurt Parliament have been incomprehensibly ignored for more than a hundred years. Nor have the papers of the First German Handworker and Industrial Congress in the municipal archive of Frankfurt received the attention they deserve. Finally there was a mass of newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, programs, and resolutions that had waited a century for someone to use them in a history of the working-class movement of 1848. They need wait no longer. For we now have a scholarly account of the various labor groups of the revolutionary period: artisan, industrial, middle-of-the-road, radical, and socialistic. The style is energetic, and the narrative brisk. Not all of the conclusions are unexceptionable, to be sure. I am not entirely convinced that "the chief of these rifts [dividing the working classes], the one most fatal to the working-class associations, lay within the guild movement, the conflict between journeymen and masters." The author goes on to argue in this connection that "the clash between their interests was in fact more dangerous—because it was less obvious—than that between artisans and industrial workers." I wonder. Perhaps it was less

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obvious because it was less real. In any case, few will quarrel with the contention that "there was no unified, class-conscious workers' movement in 1848."

Noyes's forte is research rather than analysis or generalization, but his views are always informed and persuasive. Anyone interested in gaining a deeper understanding of the Revolution will be grateful for this authoritative study of the German labor movement of 1848.

University of Wisconsin THEODORE S. HAMEROW

HINDENBURG UND DER STAAT: AUS DEN PAPIEREN DES GENERALFELDMARSCHALLS UND REICHSPRÄSIDENTEN VON 1878 BIS 1934. By *Walther Hubatsch*. (Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag. 1966. Pp. xiv, 397.)

As Professor Hubatsch explains it, the present volume seeks to analyze Hindenburg's "concept of the state" on the basis of the marshal's own statements. According to Hubatsch, Hindenburg viewed the state "as the legal order above parties and interest groups, uniting them both domestically and externally." Hubatsch concludes in a lengthy introductory essay that the field marshal-President lived up to his image of the state, giving his country "coordination [and] a sense of direction, [and] smoothing over petty everyday quarrels."

Many would question Hindenburg's ability to provide such a sense of direction, and Hubatsch does not furnish any new evidence that might induce doubters to change their mind. In fact, one of the most disappointing aspects of this book is that the author, despite his access to the Hindenburg papers, adds practically nothing to our knowledge of Hindenburg. About half of the documents reprinted here have been published before or are available on microfilm. Those that were previously unknown contain no surprises. A few of the field marshal's letters to his wife are of some biographical interest, and one gains the impression from one series of documents that the delay in Germany's admission to the League of Nations in 1926 may initially have been owing to Hindenburg's misgivings. If the inventory of the Hindenburg papers printed in the bibliography is complete (which is not made clear), those still unpublished seem to harbor no secrets.

As a scholarly work the book is open to criticism on several counts. Apologetic in its general tenor, it fails to mention facts or opinions unfavorable to Hindenburg in cases where the marshal's role has been controversial: the Prussian *coup* of 1932, the appointment of Hitler, and the Enabling Act, to mention a few. Repeatedly the chronological arrangement of the material leaves something to be desired; there are also a number of serious factual errors and some rather questionable interpretations.

In this connection one of the documents reprinted here should not go unmentioned: a letter from "The Secret Soviet Commissar for Germany" that was sent to Hindenburg, apparently by mail, complete with return address, in June 1921. The writer urged the field marshal to help arrange an understanding between Soviet Russia and Germany that would enable the Soviets to go to war against Poland and allow Germany to form a Rightist government and go to war

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also (against whom is not specified). Hindenburg declined on the grounds that he did not concern himself with politics; Hubatsch considers the letter "significant" as proof of the Soviets' wooing of Germany. Neither one seems to have noticed that the proposal was evidently a hoax, or the work of a crackpot.

Ohio State University ANDREAS DORPALEN

THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE GERMAN REVOLUTION, 1918–1919. *Charles B. Burdick* and *Ralph H. Lutz,* Editors. [Hoover Institution Publications.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. 1966. Pp. vii, 305. $7.50.)

THE editors have assembled, from a variety of sources, some intriguing documents of several of the political organizations that came into existence during the German Revolution: the executive committee of Berlin's Workers' and Soldiers' Council; the National Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils that met in December 1918 and the Central Committee created by that congress; the Council of People's Commissars that acted as a provisional government until a constituent assembly could meet, and whose minutes rightly form the most extensive part of this volume; and, finally, the first regular and legal government created by the National Assembly at Weimar. The period that the documents cover reaches from the fall of 1918 to the summer of 1919. It was a time when all still was in flux, when everything still seemed possible. We catch glimpses of Prince Max trying to save the monarchy in spite of the monarch; of the Spartacists, dead earnest about their program, attempting to erect a Soviet republic; of Ebert, less grim about his searching for some sort of sensible course between Left and Center; of the Independent Socialists wishing a plague on everybody's house; of Groener thinking of retaking Alsace; of Conservatives feeling that surely all of it must be a bad dream.

They are glimpses only. The documents often are fragmentary and will need to be supplemented from other records. Not that we should not be grateful to the editors for offering us what they did. It clearly is useful to have, presented in a single volume and in translation, material from such disparate sources as the German Foreign Ministry microfilms, from the archives of various German universities, or from the NSDAP *Hauptarchiv.* (The last held some material from the Workers' and Soldiers' Council's central committee, "contributed" to it by the former secretary of the council in 1937.) Still, many of the pieces are missing. Some of the major events of the period, such as the bitter struggle between Independent Socialists and Majority Socialists, or the Liebknecht-Luxemburg affair, or the very origins of the republic itself, are seen in faint reflection only. This makes the absence of explanatory material doubly felt. There are very few footnotes in a text that fairly demands some sort of identification of the various speakers, if only to note their party affiliations, just as it demands some sort of elucidation of various, and often crucial, references to events now obscure or forgotten; there is no connecting text; and the index is incomplete. Precisely where responsibility lies is hard to say; the volume apparently has been edited rather heavily by either the sponsoring institution or the publisher after the listed editors had done their

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work. All of which leads to a larger topic, and one nearly as divisive as the Revolution of 1918: What are the duties of a publisher toward an author or editor? Whose words can we expect to read in a book, particularly a scholarly one, those of the author or those of the publisher? What matters more, the name at the top of the title page or that at the bottom? Like some of the much-maligned middle of the roaders of the German Revolution, I would like to raise rather than answer the question (and unlike them, I can always plead space limitations for doing so). Parts of the debate between publisher and author may well be predictable. The former is likely to claim that he has improved the manuscript. The latter may well doubt it and add, besides, that the argument is immaterial, since whether better or worse, the text is not his any more. And the reader will be without sufficient facts to decide between the two. But whether predictable or not—and the discussants may well advance more intelligent points than I have—it seems to be an overdue topic for debate, and it is hard to think of a better forum for it than this journal.

University of California, Santa Barbara JOACHIM REMAK

CARL VON OSSIETZKY ALS POLITISCHER PUBLIZIST. By *Raimund Koplin*. ([Berlin:] Verlag Annedore Leber. 1964. Pp. 248. DM 14.50.)

THIS study of the German pacifist publicist Ossietzky (1889–1938) is a valuable contribution to our understanding of the Weimar Republic. Ossietzky was, together with Kurt Tucholsky, the most powerful voice of the non-Communist Left in the Germany of the 1920's. As editor of the Berlin weekly *Weltbühne* from 1926 to 1933, he provided a running political commentary that was highly critical of the anti-Republican machinations of Hindenburg's entourage, the bureaucracy, the judiciary, and, above all, the army. His exposure of the secret rearmament undertaken in violation of the terms of the Versailles Treaty led to a celebrated treason trial in 1931 that resulted in Ossietzky's being sentenced to prison. After his release under an amnesty in December 1932, he was again arrested by the Nazis in February 1933 and died after horrible mistreatment. Presenting the Nobel Peace Prize to him in 1936 led to an international scandal comparable to Pasternak's Literature Prize in 1958.

This book is not a regular biography, for available materials do not permit such an enterprise (Ossietzky was always reticent about his private life, and his widow, who serves as nominal editor of the revived *Weltbühne* in East Berlin, has been uncommunicative to Western historians). Koplin has analyzed Ossietzky's views on political problems based on his innumerable published articles. His book includes many well-selected quotations while avoiding the danger of a scissors-and-paste job always inherent in this kind of study. The political background for Ossietzky's comments is skillfully sketched out, and the author is eminently balanced in the judgments that he renders freely.

While generally favorable to Ossietzky, Koplin is by no means uncritical. He specifically criticizes Ossietzky's anticlerical zealotry, his participation in the stillborn German Republican party that needlessly splintered the pro-Republican vote in the 1924 election, his unflinching belief in Socialist-Communist cooperation that ignored the totalitarian aims of the Communists, and other errors of judg-

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ment. These errors do not, however, cloud admiration for Ossietzky's advocacy of a foreign policy for Germany that renounced nationalist great power ambitions and sought genuine reconciliation with the democratic West; his call for active democratic citizenship that repudiated centuries of servility toward bureaucratic and militarist authority; and his recognition that a progressive social policy, enlisting the support of the working class, was an essential ingredient of a well-functioning democracy. Ossietzky evokes admiration as a dedicated, courageous, and gifted champion of these—in the Germany of the 1920's—unpopular, or at least highly controversial, positions. Koplin deserves our gratitude for presenting the totality of Ossietzky's political outlook—warts and all—in a clear, well-organized, and definitive monograph.

Brown University KLAUS EPSTEIN

DIE DIPLOMATISCHE VORGESCHICHTE DES BEITRITTS DEUTSCHLANDS ZUM VÖLKERBUND 1924–1926: EIN BEITRAG ZUR AUSSENPOLITIK DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. By *Jürgen Spenz*. (Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag. 1966. Pp. 216.)

THIS work constitutes an account of an eventful chapter in the diplomatic history of the Weimar Republic: the diplomatic preliminaries to the entry of Germany into the League of Nations. It is based on a re-examination of the literature and a study of the older and also the newly available source material. Of this latter extensive use is made of the archives of the Foreign Ministry now at Bonn, especially the *Reichsminister* and *Staatssekretär* files, and of the *Reichskanzlei* files now in the *Bundesarchiv* at Koblenz. United States and Soviet publications of diplomatic documents for the pertinent years are also used. On the other hand, the large-scale publications of British and French diplomatic documents have not covered this period, which has handicapped the author somewhat, as he believes that the key to these negotiations is to be found in British-German, French-German, and, to an extent, British-French relationships.

The study reveals the extraordinarily complicated nature of the procedure by which Germany was brought into the League. It was the period simultaneously of the negotiations for the Locarno Pact and of the Berlin Treaty of 1926 with the Soviet Union. The work opens with a survey of the League policies of the principal powers up to the summer of 1924. Mention is made of the initiatives taken during that summer toward League membership for Germany, and there is a discussion of the German memorandum of September 29, 1924, to the ten members of the League Council, containing the German conditions for acceptance of membership. It seems to have been expected in Berlin that these conditions would be accepted in routine fashion, but, in fact, resultant negotiations extended over the next two years, and both the Locarno Pact and the Russian treaty were concluded before German membership in the League was achieved. The Russian attitude toward the German approach to the League, here dealt with in considerable detail, is very interesting.

The study concludes with an account of the movement for a reform in the

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structure of the League Council, which led finally to Germany's entrance into the League with a permanent seat on the Council in September 1926.

Westminster College, Pennsylvania JAMES S. BEDDIE

VERSUCHUNG ODER CHANCE? ZUR GESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN NATIONALBOLSHEWISMUS. By *Karl O. Paetel.* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag. 1965. Pp. 343. DM 29.80.)

KARL Paetel was himself involved with National Bolshevism and was the editor of one of its leading organs, *Die socialistische Nation.* The present book is neither a defense nor an exposé. Rather, Paetel sets forth descriptively and accurately the political and social thinking, such as it was, of the fascinating movement that existed in Germany during the twenties and early thirties.

The National Bolshevists were a motley group of intellectuals and editors who were Rightists of the Left and Leftists of the Right. They preferred to express their political thinking in negative terms. They despised Western democratic capitalism; they opposed "the dictation of Versailles," the "slavery of the Dawes plan," the "humiliation of Locarno," the "tyranny of the Young Plan." They called for a "revolutionary peoples' war against Western capitalism" in alliance with Soviet Russia. Many of them inveighed against the Jews. All of them saw their first and primary task as the destruction of the Weimar Republic.

Since they had difficulty in articulating any positive political or social program, they resorted to a species of mysticism. They worshiped, variously, "the Folk soul of the race," the "holiness of Germandom," or "the spirit of Power made manifest." One of their leading periodicals announced: "We have no program; we have faith." On a more mundane and scrutable level, they agreed with Ernst Jünger who, in an article of 1926, insisted that the *Reich* of the future must be built on "the four pillars of Nationalism, Socialism, Militarism, and Authoritarianism." They too longed for "A great leader . . . who will compress all our interests in his fist." At first highly congenial to Hitler's movement, most of the National Bolshevists soon became disenchanted; the *Führer* and his Nazis were too mild for them.

The book's chief value is that it serves as a *Quellensammlung* giving long quotations from contemporary pamphlets and periodicals that are now difficult to obtain. Titles of representative newspapers and magazines speak loudly of their contents, and photostatic reproductions of mastheads, magazine covers, and broadsides enliven and lend verisimilitude to the book.

The reasons for the failure of National Bolshevism are manifest throughout this book. The whole movement consisted of a small group of fractious intellectuals and journalists who were almost totally lacking in practical political experience and popular appeal. Intensely jealous of each other, they could agree neither on a general organization nor a specific program.

Paetel's valuable descriptive history makes little attempt to analyze the movement and ignores its historical importance. In retrospect he likes to believe that his fellow National Bolshevists had a great "chance" to stop Hitler in 1933. But his whole book shows the vacuity of this wistful hope of a later day. Far from stopping Hitler, the National Bolshevists contributed significantly to his success. Neg-

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atively they helped by attacking and ridiculing the Weimar Republic; positively they helped Hitler by preaching a doctrine of extreme nationalism and socialism of the type that was congenial to Nazism.

Williams College ROBERT G. L. WAITE

AKTEN ZUR DEUTSCHEN AUSWÄRTIGEN POLITIK, 1918–1945, AUS DEM ARCHIV DES DEUTSCHEN AUSWÄRTIGEN AMTS. Series D, 1937–1945. Volume XI, DIE KRIEGSJAHRE. Part 1, 1. SEPTEMBER BIS 13. NOVEMBER 1940; Part 2, 13. NOVEMBER 1940 BIS 31. JANUAR 1941. (Bonn: Gebr. Hermes KG. 1964. Pp. lxxxvi, 478; 479–1086.)

THE diligent German scholars who prepared these twin volumes deserve the thanks of the historical profession. They have made improvements on the American version, itself recognized as a superior piece of documentary editing (see review of *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945,* Ser. D, Vol. XI, *AHR,* LXVII [Oct. 1961], 206). Vincent Kroll has replaced Fritz T. Epstein, who was executive director of the German Editorial Group at the time of the preparation of Volumes VIII–X (see reviews, *AHR,* LXVIII [Jan. 1963], 524; LXX [Jan. 1965], 451). Hans Rothfels remains as editor in chief, assisted by Roland Thimme, Hans Schwüppe, Harald Schinkel, and Auguste Paschek. Continuing the practice of their predecessors, the editors have retained the American selections intact, with the same document numbers as the American edition, merely splitting the massive collection after Number 329, Gustav Hilger's sketch of the last Ribbentrop-Molotov conversation in the air raid shelter, November 13, 1940.

The main advantages of the German edition are: a bibliography of works cited in the notes; a genuine index of persons, rather than a mere list, which is much more complete than the American version; detailed tables of organization of the Legal, Cultural, News and Information Departments of the Foreign Office; a fuller description of the German files from which the documents were taken; and a more useful map of the Lithuanian border areas. These volumes have been printed by a different commercial publisher than the preceding German volumes; the printing is extremely well done, continuing a truly attractive set. Particularly well-represented areas for research are: the USSR, 94 documents; France, 99 documents; USA, 46 documents; Spain, 63 documents; Japan, 52 documents; Italy, 49 documents; Finland, 48 documents; Rumania, 48 documents; Bulgaria, 38 documents; Turkey and the Middle East, 43 documents. German plans for both a continental empire in Eastern Europe and overseas are implicit in these and in other documents easily located in the analytic list of documents copied from the American version.

Madison, Wisconsin ROBERT KOEHL

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER UNIVERSITÄT WIEN. Volumes I–III. (Graz-Köln: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1965. Pp. 258; 125; 202. DM 40; DM 22; DM 36.)

THESE three collections of studies on selected aspects of the history of the University of Vienna constitute the first group of books in a multivolume work issued in

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connection with the six hundredth anniversary of the founding of the university. The origin of the University of Vienna is familiar to students of the history of higher education. In 1365 this institution was established by Duke Rudolf IV, evidently in competition with those at Prague (1348) and Cracow (1364), and by a bull of Pope Urban V. Documents and details concerning its history may be found in Rudolf Kink's *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien* (2 vols., 1854), Josef von Aschbach's *Geschichte der Wiener Universität* (5 vols., 1865–98), and Karl Schrauf's *Geschichte der Wiener Universität in ihren Grundzügen* (1901). In addition, there are monographs and documentary collections covering the university's library, medical faculty, and other subjects.

Volume I treats the history of the library, of financial support and administration, and of oaths and vows at the Faculty of Medicine; Volume II, the professors of theology (1622–1640), and instruction in Roman and Germanic law, and in economics; Volume III, the teaching of prehistory, Slavic studies, geography, and chemistry.

Virtually all of these monographic studies draw upon primary sources in German and Latin. Of special value is Gottfried Roth's study of medical oaths, which includes Latin texts of various periods plus a comparison with the Hippocratic oath. The Nazi period is covered in many of the essays, generally with brevity and blandness. Walter Pongratz, however, in his history of the university library, is frank in acknowledging the negative impact of Nazism. On the other hand, Roth is disingenuous in describing as a "vage Angabe" the oath, instituted in 1940 by the *Reichminister* of education, by which the recipient of a degree pledged solemnly "dass er sich stets der Würde eines Doktors der Medizin einer deutschen Universität würdig erweisen werde." As a general rule, however, the Nazi influence on the administration, curriculum, and personnel of the university is given a rather vague treatment. One would like to know more facts concerning the case of Professor Karl Gottfried Hugelmann, specialist in the history of Germanic law and a Christian Socialist opponent of Nazism, who was forcibly retired in 1934. He was called in December 1934 to the University of Münster, served there as rector during 1935–1937, was appointed to the University of Göttingen in 1944, and continued there his professorial activity almost until his death in 1959. Commenting on this academic hegira from a pre-Nazi to a Nazi country, Hans Lentze remarks, "Damals konnte ein Märtyrer des Nationalsozialismus mit einer Karriere in Deutschland rechnen." Such a judgment is cryptic and calls for concrete details.

By and large, those interested in the history of higher education in Europe, particularly in Austria, will derive considerable information and enlightening insights from the studies in these three volumes.

University of Pennsylvania WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN

PRINZ EUGEN VON SAVOYEN: EINE BIOGRAPHIE. Volume V, MENSCH UND SCHICKSAL. By *Max Braubach*. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 1965. Pp. 576. DM 44.)

PRINCE Eugene of Savoy came as near as anyone to representing the heroic ideal

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of his age, both to his contemporaries and to an envious posterity. His own genius expressed itself on the battlefield, and even here his competence can be debated, but his immense wealth and his political influence made him a central figure in the aristocratic world that conducted the affairs of Europe and set its standards of taste and decorum. This concluding volume in Max Braubach's biography is a detailed, careful, and judicious exploration of Eugene's place in that world.

About half this volume, and the best half of it, is devoted to Eugene's role as patron of the arts and a model of the aristocratic social ideal. Bibliophile, art collector, builder of palaces and gardens, the *philosophe guerrier* and *le roi des honnêtes gens*—these are the most appealing facets of Eugene's long career, and these chapters of Braubach's biography are the most productive mine of detailed information on the aristocratic style of the late baroque.

The last years of Eugene's life are not good material for a heroic biography. Plagued by illness, his mental powers ebbing, he appears more as a cantankerous old man who cannot give up the reins of power and retire gracefully than he does as a gilded hero in the traditional style. His greatest admirer, Frederick the Great, conceded that he had outlived his time. In spite of this, it is here, more than in Braubach's earlier volumes, that we begin to see Eugene in human dimensions.

Now that this magnificent biography is before us in its entirety, we can appreciate the immense and careful labor that went into its preparation. It is historical writing of a sort that seems to have disappeared in our monographically inclined generation. Its leisurely, measured pace may not be to the taste of modern readers in search of an encapsulated past, but there is little one would ask to have left out altogether. These volumes restore some sense to the overworked, critical phrase "a definitive work."

The notes for this work, which, if taken together, would in themselves make a volume larger than any one of these, provide a comprehensive view of the scattered documentary sources. The generous use of quotations and the clear citations make them an invaluable guide for further research in the period. This compensates for the index, which follows the traditional German pattern and lists only people and places.

Haverford College JOHN P. SPIELMAN, JR.

KRUSHENIE AVSTRO-VENGERSKOI MONARKHII [The Destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy]. By *E. I. Rubinshtein*. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR. 1963. Pp. 427.)

Miss Rubinshtein has written the first major Soviet monograph on the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy. It is based on printed sources in several languages (including Magyar) as well as on Soviet archival sources. The author draws attention to two factors involved in the monarchy's disintegration, both underrated by Western historians: the influence of the Russian Revolutions of 1917 and the internal social conflicts within the monarchy. In general, however, she writes in the spirit of conservative Marxism, and her account bears heavy scars of the period of the "cult of personality." The workers act for the best, unless led astray by the bourgeoisie; the bourgeoisie, occasionally joined by Social Democratic oppor-

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tunists, is the villain. The bourgeoisie of the subject nationalities is blamed for not advocating the breakup of the monarchy before 1914. This might appear as a lack of foresight until one realizes the fact, only dimly seen through the book's pages, that the orthodox Marxist leaders were even less willing to gamble on the unpredictable consequences of a breakup of the monarchy. The author fails, moreover, to mention some cases where the middle-class leaders did express a sentiment for independence, such as the manifesto of the Czech Progressives in May 1914, and neglects to point out that Lenin himself in a letter to Rosa Luxemburg favored the preservation of the monarchy and at no time before 1914 placed himself on record as advocating its dissolution. Rubinshtein's roseate glasses permit no complicated views. The worker loves his country; the bourgeois is capable of no such noble sentiment, and his expressions of patriotism are only a pretense to cover up his economic goals. The reader is left with the impression that throughout the war the sole objective of the latter was to beguile his own people and conspire against their welfare. None of the middle-class leaders are rewarded with even faint praise; progressives, liberals, clericalists are all sent to the same inferno. Differences of outlook within the working class are not admitted.

It may be added that in the bibliography precious space is taken by seventy-seven separate titles by Lenin. There are also three titles by Khrushchev; had the work been published today, Mr. Kosygin would doubtless have received this honor. Nothing illustrates better how far Soviet historians have yet to travel before they can be regarded as historians first and ideologists second, and what gap separates them from their Marxist colleagues in the socialist bloc. The Marxist scholars of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Poland are pointing the way; it is hoped that Soviet historians will follow their example.

University of British Columbia STANLEY Z. PECH

THE BIRTH OF THE AUSTRIAN REPUBLIC, 1918–1921. By *Karl R. Stadler*. (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff. 1966. Pp. 207.)

THIS study deals with a difficult subject of considerable historical import and in some aspects even today of more than mere historical interest. Of the problems faced by the peacemakers at Saint-Germain in 1919, the south Tirol issue is still with us. The *Anschluss* question and the determination of the Czech-Austrian frontier played an extremely important part in events leading to the outbreak of World War II, but the author is probably right in feeling that a closer adherence to ethnic principles would not have prevented Hitler's aggression. On the positive side of the ledger it may be said that the redrawing of the Austro-Hungarian border has stood the test of time quite well. Furthermore the Carinthian plebiscite of October 1920 concerning the boundary between Yugoslavia and Austria was a model of an intelligently arranged and fairly conducted operation.

All this and more, with due regard for the Austrian domestic background actions and decisions, is discussed by Dr. Stadler. The book could have been more readable, however, if quotations, largely from secondary sources, had not filled at least one-fifth of the text. Stadler's sympathies rest decidedly with the Austrian Socialists. Statements such as "it fell to the Social Democrats to rebuild the life

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of their nation" and the comparison between Thomas G. Masaryk, the great liberator of the Czech people, and the highly controversial Austrian Left-wing Socialist Friedrich Adler are somewhat out of focus. Furthermore, the oppressive policies of the Habsburg Empire are at points somewhat overstated.

This is not meant to suggest that a sincere desire for impartiality is lacking. The author's judgments, whether one shares them or not, are on the whole well reasoned and moderate though packed by more evidence drawn from the Left than from the Right. The main weakness of the book lies in an unfortunate deficiency in the use of sources. If Stadler had studied the as yet unpublished material in the Austrian archives—permission is not difficult to get—he could have added greater depth to his study. Far more difficult to explain is the fact that he has not used such published primary sources as *Les délibérations du Conseil des Quatres (24 mars–28 juin 1919)*, that is, the private records of the secretary of the Council, Paul Mantoux, which supplement the US Department of State papers relating to the Peace Conference. They would have given him important additional information. Of Austrian dailies, Stadler refers directly only to the Socialist papers, but not to the main liberal, German national, or catholic conservative ones. Neither has he perused the study by F. F. G. Kleinwaechter, *Von Schönbrunn bis St. Germain* (1964), which deals with the same topic as his own book. This list of important omissions could be easily extended, but the examples given must suffice to indicate that this ably and intelligently done study cannot become the definitive work on the subject.

Rutgers University ROBERT A. KANN

BRIEFE. Volume VI, HINWENDUNG ZUR KUNST DES BAROCKS, GALERIEREISEN: ROM UND KASSEL–DRESDEN 1875, TIROL–OBERITALIEN 1876, BAYERN–FRANKEN 1877, EMILIA–ROMAGNA 1878, NEUAUFLAGEN UND ERSTE ÜBERSETZUNGEN DER HAUPTWERKE, DER KREIS DER JÜNGEREN BASLER FREUNDE APRIL 1875 BIS ENDE 1878. By *Jacob Burckhardt*. Edited by *Max Burckhardt*. (Basel: Schwabe & Co. 1966. Pp. 496. 28 fr. S.)

As a humanist, Burckhardt ranks among the great letter writers of his century. The sixth volume, edited, like its predecessors, with the most painstaking and comprehensive exactness (with about 200 pages of explanatory notes for even minute details), covers the period 1875–1878. These are the years when Burckhardt achieved his European stature as the *Weise von Basel*, where he was firmly rooted as a scholar and burgher without overlooking the shortcomings of the *bürgerliche Welt*, continental counterpart to the heyday of the Victorian Age. Politically the consolidation of the Bismarckian *Reich*, the new Italian *Regno*, and the Third Republic seemed to have stabilized Europe.

Burckhardt's letters reveal the keen analysis that he applied to the seamy side behind the loud and specious idols of contemporary optimism and "progress." With the scathing and not always unbiased irony of the conservative *Unzeitgemäße*, he observed the concern of the *nouveaux riches* and the upstarts with business and power, the concomitants of technology and urbanization, the restless

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and overactive dynamism and the "Massenfeste des Plebses" of those who "feel lost if they are not gathered by the thousands." It is particularly his correspondence with F. von Preen, the German nobleman and civil servant, that contains his most pertinent notes about political and cultural conditions and trends, including his judgment of Bismarck, whom he both respected and disliked. A complement to these letters are those he wrote to his friends in Basel, the architect Alioth and the jurist Grüninger, and to his relatives, during his journeys to Germany and Italy. Tuned to the individuality of the recipient as well as to the particular situation, combining serious discussion about works of art (the major objective of these trips), or the problems of contemporary society with witty personal remarks on chance encounters and conversations, on lodging, food, and especially the highly appreciated wine, these letters present the perfect embodiment of the *nihil humani a me alienum puto*. They also prove how much the stay in the old towns of Germany and Italy meant to him, not only as a professor but as a humanist.

Marquette University FELIX M. WASSERMANN

MOVIMENTI E CONTRASTI PER L'UNITÀ ITALIANA: CON AGGIUNTI ALCUNI SCRITTI SPARSI E UNA NOTA BIOGRAFICA DI W. MATURI. By *Antonio Anzilotti*. Edited by *Alberto Caracciolo*. [Ricerche sull'Italia moderna, Number 4.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1964. Pp. xxxiii, 422. L. 3,200.)

WHEN Antonio Anzilotti died in December 1924 he was not yet forty. During that year the political crisis precipitated by the Fascist murder of Matteotti dominated practically all other considerations in Italy. And yet the distraught Italian intelligentsia, including both the older generation of historians (Croce, Salvemini, Volpe) and the new generation of "students" (Chabod, Maturi, Vaccari, Cantimori, Morandi), however otherwise divided, knew that they had suffered an irreparable loss. For forty years thereafter Anzilotti retained the quiet and faithful admiration of all those who had known him personally or who had read his brilliant historical works. In 1930 Luigi Russo collected and edited under the imprint of Laterza, and therefore with Croce's implicit approval, Anzilotti's "minor" historical essays; that edition has long been unavailable. Now Alberto Caracciolo, a member of the post-Crocean and, in a sense, anti-Crocean generation of younger Italian historians, has produced an expanded edition of Anzilotti's essays. This volume is not only a tribute to Anzilotti's multiple appeal but also to the deepening tolerance within the liberal wing of the Neo-Marxist Italian intelligentsia.

The three "prefaces" to this edition of Anzilotti's essays—Russo's own is reprinted from the 1930 edition, that by Walter Maturi is reproduced from the sketch in the *Dizionario bibliografico degli Italiani,* and Caracciolo's original essay entitled "Uno storico moderno"—all testify to Anzilotti's heroic struggle throughout his life to mold for himself, out of the diverse traditions and historiographic alternatives, a new kind of *storia interiore* and *storiografia realistica* that would transcend but not deny the fertile achievements of his Italian and European masters. Caracciolo is quite right, it seems to me, in suggesting that Anzilotti prefigured, if he did not have time to fully realize, the cultural empiricism

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that characterizes the subtleties behind the historical methodology of Federico Chabod.

Based as it is upon the Russo edition of Anzilotti's *Movimenti e contrasti,* Caracciolo's edition offers a larger view of the Pisan historian's range of professional interests and the richness of his historiographic ideas. Those interests had been contemporaneously focused on the three major eras of modern Italian history: the Renaissance, the eighteenth-century "age of reforms," and the *Risorgimento.* Obviously, restrictions of space have precluded the inclusion in this volume of Anzilotti's larger works. Practically all of Anzilotti's longer essays have been reprinted in this edition, together with five shorter studies on the *Risorgimento* and all of the historiographical articles. Together, these works constitute an illuminating introduction to an exceptionally gifted historical mind. Unfortunately, there is no opportunity to elaborate further upon the rich insights and the originality of thought and vision most of these essays contain. Be it sufficient to say that rereading Anzilotti's essays has tended to reconfirm my feeling concerning both the desirability and the practicality of striving for a new humanistic historiography consciously free of metahistorical, pseudoscientific, and ideological passions. For, paradoxical as it may sound, Anzilotti was a "historians' historian" whose refined, if eclectic and unfinished, work amounts to an inspiring example of how the modern historian may try to break the strangle hold of sterile specialization and false intellectual pride.

University of Rochester A. William Salomone

VENISE, RAGUSE ET LE COMMERCE DU BLÉ PENDANT LA SECONDE MOITIÉ DU XVI^e^ SIÈCLE. By *Maurice Aymard.* [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e^ Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Ports, routes, trafics, Number 20.] (*Paris:* S.E.V.P.E.N. *1966.* Pp. 178.)

Aymard's study is a monograph of distinction, complementing Fernand Braudel and Ruggiero Romano, *Navires et marchands à l'entrée du port de Livourne (1547–1611),* and supplementing several other volumes in this series. It deals with a problem to which an important place is reserved in Braudel's epochal *Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (1949): regularities and everyday realities of grain consumption, production, and transport, business methods of grain merchants, fluctuations in grain prices, and grain sources of supply for the demands of Venice and Ragusa (Dubrovnik) during the second half of the sixteenth century.

A model of scholarship, based chiefly on Venetian and Ragusan archives, the study distinguishes three periods. From 1548 to 1563 Venice, Ragusa, and Italy in general called upon Aegean and Balkan grains to meet the needs of their expanding populations. From 1560 to 1590 Ottoman demographic expansion culminated in a series of almost uninterrupted famines, which imposed serious curbs on grain exports, thus forcing Italy to encourage land reclamation projects in order to satisfy its consumption needs. In a final period, northern grains, including supplies from the Baltic, entered the Italian market.

One minor criticism is the absence, in the author's short list of secondary

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works, of the important studies of Jorjo Tadić. Aymard's section on Ragusan grain merchants is consequently less satisfying than might otherwise have been the case. He neglects in particular the ship captain Michele Prazzato (Miho Pracatović), who, after acting primarily as a shipper of grains between 1555 and 1558, became a sedentary merchant, with a primary interest in cloth, olive oil, and leather, and then extended his activities to the issuance of marine insurance and to banking enterprise. Ultimately, Pracatović became the wealthiest merchant in Ragusa. If his situation were aberrant, it would not be very important. But it illustrates a general process in Ragusa and other Mediterranean ports: the use of the grain trade as a source of initial enrichment.

Rutgers University TRAIAN STOIANOVICH

SCRITTURE INEDITE E DISSERTAZIONE "DEL COMMERCIO." By *Girolamo Belloni.* Edited and with an introduction by *Alberto Caracciolo.* [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica. Series 2, Fonti. Volume LII.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1965. Pp. 273.)

GIROLAMO Belloni was a Codognese banker, merchant, industrialist, and entrepreneur of the eighteenth century. He was an influential figure in the world of Italian finance and a consultant-administrator to the Roman court under Popes Clement XII and Benedict XIV. He has been known, until recently, as the author of a celebrated, if unoriginal, essay on commerce, the *Dissertazione Del Commercio.* The *Dissertazione,* first published in 1750, had a certain popularity in the latter half of the eighteenth century and was translated into German, French, English, and Dutch. This volume contains Belloni's *Dissertazione* and a collection of his unpublished papers of the years 1719–1757. The unpublished writings, from the family archives (the *Fondo Cavalletti*), concern Belloni's views on matters of economic policy, primarily on monetary and financial affairs, affecting the Papal States during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Belloni was a moderate mercantilist of the Italian school. As an economic theorist he is analytically less interesting than his Neapolitan contemporary, Abbé Galiani, or the later Milanese economist, Pietro Verri. Belloni was primarily a man of affairs, but he was also a perceptive observer of the economic scene. He was keenly aware of the rise in prices that started in Italy in the second quarter of the eighteenth century and of related problems of rising costs and declining international balances in the Papal States. In an age of economic crises, of monetary debasement, and of chronic shortage of currency, he expounded a bullionist or quantity theory of money and a primitive version of the balance of trade as the main source of a country's prosperity. In the *Dissertazione,* he recognized the connection between exchange rates and an adverse balance of payments, but failed to grasp the long-run equilibrium relation, discovered by the classical economists, regulating money, prices, and bullion flows in international trade.

Caracciolo, in an able introduction, correctly stresses the empirical content of these writings as the major contribution of the volume. Belloni's preoccupation with a stable monetary system, with projects to improve agriculture, to expand foreign trade, and to develop a manufacturing sector, with technology and the

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need to educate a labor force, provides an excellent commentary on specific aspects of the economy of the Papal States. His preoccupation with these matters reflects, in fact, different aspects of the same problem: his increasing awareness of the growing backwardness of Italy vis-à-vis the more advanced, industrializing regions of Western Europe.

Caracciolo promises, for the future, a full-scale study of the bank of Belloni. This, together with the present volume, will make an important contribution to the economic and entrepreneurial history of Italy in the eighteenth century, and we will all be the richer for it.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology IRA A. GLAZIER

CRISPI E LO "STATO DI MILANO." By *Fausto Fonzi.* [L'Età del Risorgimento, Studi e testi, Number 6.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1965. Pp. xxxi, 552.)

WITH this fine study of the conflict between Crispi and Milan during the tumultuous years 1893–1896, Fausto Fonzi has made a significant contribution to the history of late nineteenth-century Italy. The conflict, he holds, was a crucial turning point in Italy's political development. Not only did Milan, Italy's proud moral capital and "political laboratory," cause Crispi's fall in 1896, but it brought forth, in the course of the struggle, the democratic parties of the era of Giolitti, Turati's reformist socialists and Meda's Christian democrats.

The center of northern opposition to Crispi's dictatorial, militaristic, and expansionist policies, Milan was also the center of his strongest opponents, the moderates of the Lombard Right and radicals of the extreme Left. Indignant at the "State of Milan" for what he regarded as the unpatriotic municipalism and materialism of its citizens, Crispi decided to promote a pact between the Milanese Catholics and moderates to defeat his bitterest adversaries, the radicals, in Milan's communal elections of February 1895. This was a means to a greater end: extension of Catholic participation to the general elections of May 1895 and conquest of conservative support in the north for a dynamic foreign and colonial policy. Crispi's attempt to secure the suspension of the *non expedit* through conciliation of the Vatican in 1894–1895 and his dissolution of the Socialist party in October 1894 were both part of this "conservative operation." Making remarkably similar decisions, Turati and Meda abandoned abstentionist, Maximalist positions, opted to work through the institutions of the state, and began the tactic, so fundamental in the Giolittian period, of concluding electoral pacts. Deciding after October 1894 that liberty was essential for the Socialist party, Turati and his followers forged an electoral alliance with the radicals for the February elections, and, even more important, resolved to make collaboration with democratic groups the policy of the party on a national scale—an objective Turati was largely to achieve after 1898. To prevent the election of an anticlerical city council by the radical-socialist bloc, Meda and the Catholics concluded the pact Crispi desired with the moderates, their ultimate objective being, however, the transformation of political life in a more Christian and popular direction. Italy's modern parties,

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Fonzi thus writes, appeared at this time. They would defend the constitution, narrow the gap between real and legal Italy, and enable Parliament to function without a return to the *statuto*.

While the moderates won with Catholic votes in February, the *Estrema,* with Leo XIII's reaffirmation of the *non expedit,* triumphed in Milan during May. This, together with Crispi's war in Ethiopia and his fiscal policies, turned the moderates of Milan and then the entire north against the government. The defeat of Adua brought Milan to the verge of revolt. With Crispi ready to employ troops against Milan, Umberto had to accept his resignation or face civil war.

Fonzi's research, much of it archival, is meticulous. His analysis of all the important developments he has explored, from Crispi's conservative campaign to the northern revolt against the Sicilian dictator and "imperialist south," is masterful, rich, and valuable.

University of California, Santa Barbara DONALD A. LIMOLI

LUIGI CAISSOTTI DI CHIUSANO E IL MOVIMENTO CATTOLICO DAL 1896 AL 1915. By *Alessandro Zussini.* [Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Scienze Politiche dell'Università di Torino, Volume XIII.] (Turin: Edizioni Giappichelli. 1965. Pp. 235. L. 2,800.)

ONE of the leitmotivs in Italian life after the formation of a united Italy was the bitter conflict between Church and state. The problem demanded personal commitments from all thoughtful Italians and created public and private dilemmas.

This study of Luigi Caissotti di Chiusano, a lesser-known figure in the Catholic movement, delineates some of these dilemmas. By following the activities of Caissotti di Chiusano, we come to understand better the individual Italian Catholic's relationship to his church, his country, and his own conscience. Through him the moral struggle of those who wanted to be Catholics and Italians becomes clearer. Caissotti di Chiusano belonged to the Piedmontese agrarian aristocracy in whom devotion to the Savoy monarchy and to the Church had deep roots. For twenty years of his life (1868–1963) he participated indefatigably in Turin's Catholic intellectual and social circles. He corresponded with Giuseppe Toniolo, leading theoretician of Italian Catholicism, earned considerable recognition, yet failed to achieve national prominence because of internal factional strifes.

His participation began in 1896 under the stimulus generated by the Rerum novarum and continued until 1916. During these years he devoted himself intensely to the Catholic cause. Captivated by Murri's ideas, he became an advocate of the early Christian Democratic movement. His sentiments reflected those of countless young Italian Catholics, who, while dreaming of the day when the schism between Church and state would be healed, were more immediately concerned with the growing threat of socialism. In a letter to Toniolo, written on October 21, 1897, he declared that "in comparison to social reforms, political reforms have a minimal importance."

Caught in the struggle over Catholic trade-unions in 1914, Caissotti di Chiusano went to their defense against the criticisms of the powerful *Civiltà Cattolica*

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in a pamphlet that brought him to the attention of Harmel and La Tour du Pin in France and involved him in the polemics between "social Catholics" and the conservative integralists. This conflict was so bitter that it undoubtedly influenced Caissotti's decision to withdraw from all Catholic activities.

Based on the personal files of Caissotti di Chiusano, his writings, Toniolo's correspondence—both the published and still unpublished letters in the Vatican Library—and interviews with Caissotti di Chiusano himself during the last years of his life, this book provides an illuminating glimpse into the activities and ideas of committed Italian Catholics. We also get a picture of the labyrinthine maneuvering between factions during the pontificates of Leo XIII and Pius X. This book should interest anyone concerned with the intricate history of state-Church relations in Italy.

Simmons College EMILIANA P. NOETHER

THE CORFU INCIDENT OF 1923: MUSSOLINI AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By *James Barros*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xxi, 339. $7.50.)

MR. Barros has written an extremely good study of the Corfu incident. He concentrates on the international diplomacy of the event, giving his reader a blow-by-blow account of the crucial discussions and debates in the Conference of Ambassadors and the League Council. He has had access not only to the records of these organizations but also to the dispatches sent by the delegates and ambassadors of the principal interested states to their respective superiors, and the instructions received in return. He has mined the archives of the Italian, Greek, and American governments. Only the British and French archives for the period are still closed, but he was able to substitute for the British archives the private papers of Lord Curzon and Admiral Keyes. He was fortunate and interviewed personally a few of the diplomatic survivors who were able to add some details and impressions not available on the written record. Building on these sources he has put together an extremely impressive account of a tempest in a teapot, which always contained, however, the potential for developing into a more serious international crisis. His version is likely to remain definitive for some time, for it appears doubtful, in my opinion, that the opening of the British and French archives will reveal material likely to force a substantial change in the fundamental story revealed here.

I have only one small complaint and two small disagreements to register. The complaint regards the sparseness of information and analysis given the reader about the domestic political situations in Italy and Greece. Barros recognizes that Mussolini's dramatic occupation of Corfu was stimulated by the *Duce*'s desire for a diplomatic success, not only to build up Italy's prestige abroad but also to bolster a shaky government at home. But nowhere does the author analyze why the Fascist regime was shaky in 1923; nor does he discuss or identify those groups within Italian society who would be sufficiently impressed by a diplomatic success to help Mussolini consolidate his position. Barros concludes that the event indicates

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the decline of the traditional career diplomats. I am not convinced. It seems to me that he has shown they still had a role to play and some influence to exert: they were able to make the necessary concessions and persuade Mussolini to accept them, which enabled the Conference of Ambassadors to arrive at a solution that got Italy off the hook. In later years there is no doubt that their influence over the *Duce* declined. On the other hand, Barros recognizes the failure of the League of Nations, but still tries to shift the blame to the powers.

University of Connecticut NORMAN KOGAN

LA RESISTENZA ITALIANA: APPUNTI E DOCUMENTI. By *Guido Quazza*. [Collana dell'Istituto di Storia della Facoltà di Magistero dell'Università di Torino, Number 1.] (Turin: G. Giappichelli Editore. 1966. Pp. 263. L. 2,500.)

As a young man the author of this book participated in the Italian armed resistance of 1943–1945. Since then he has become a professor of history at the University of Turin where, among other things, he has pioneered in steering qualified students into investigating recent history and the regional aspects of the liberation movement in particular. Quazza's book consists of two interpretive essays originally given as lectures in Turin; a short discussion of some of the historiographical problems involved in studying the resistance; and his personal diary covering the period from September 3, 1943, until May 12, 1945.

In the essay "La politica dei comitati di liberazione" Quazza takes up some of the major problems facing the clandestine governing institutions of the resistance. He discusses such problems of historical interpretation as whether the resistance originated spontaneously or at the instigation of political parties; what links the resistance had with older anti-Fascist currents; and whether there was really as much "unity" as Communist propaganda contends. Quazza suggests periodizing the resistance into four phases: the preparatory one extending from the autumn of 1942 until September 8, 1943; the second, from the armistice to the liberation of Rome; the third, from June 1944 until the insurrection; and the fourth, from April 25, 1945, until the referendum of June 2, 1946, on the monarchy and election of the Constituent Assembly. He underscores the differences in political outlook of the northern, central, and southern CLN's; the friction between moderates and Leftists; the emphasis of the northern CLN's upon the need for more regional autonomy; and the efforts of the resistance to promote socioeconomic reforms. His second essay, "La guerra partigiana," summarizes cogently the military aspects of the resistance. Although Quazza's citations indicate familiarity with much of the basic literature on both the CLN's and partisan warfare, I was disappointed not to find my work mentioned.

The last half of the book consists of Quazza's laconic wartime diary. It is a useful historical document in that it helps to illustrate the idealistic and somewhat politically amorphous attitudes that typified many of the young intellectuals when they went into the mountains to join the partisan forces. Quazza's diary also gives some information on such problems of the partisan struggle as the increasing tendency to inculcate political ideas among the fighters; the efforts of the Pied-

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montese partisans to achieve friendly understandings with the French *Résistance;* and the jealousies and suspicions aroused by Allied supply drops.

Quazza's book is a valuable brief interpretation of the resistance.

Vanderbilt University CHARLES F. DELZELL

ALCIDE DE GASPERI: THE LONG APPRENTICESHIP. By *Elisa A. Carrillo.* [Studies in Christian Democracy.] ([Notre Dame, Ind.:] University of Notre Dame Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 185. $5.50.)

IN her unpretentious book, Professor Carrillo gives a simple, informative, and at the same time enthusiastically flattering appraisal of Alcide De Gasperi, the Austrian-born Catholic politician who became Prime Minister of Italy at the end of 1945 and held that position for nearly seven years after the proclamation of the republic. The first three chapters deal with De Gasperi's Austrian period, his family background, his studies, his early political activities culminating in his election in 1911 to the Austrian Parliament as a Catholic opposed to both Liberalism and Socialism but accepting the democratic process, and as an autonomist for Italian-speaking Trentino. De Gasperi's rapid post-World War I rise in the newly formed and dynamic *Partito Popolare* is the topic of the fourth chapter. Three more chapters cover twenty or so difficult years. Leader of the anti-Fascist wing of the *Partito Popolare,* successor of Luigi Sturzo as secretary-general of the party, hounded by the Fascist government, jailed for sixteen months in 1927–1928 on the charge of attempting to leave the country clandestinely, De Gasperi finally found refuge in the Vatican as a librarian, and he later became active in the resistance movement of 1943–1944. The last chapter deals with De Gasperi's activities as leader of the newly established Christian Democratic party from the liberation of Rome until his appointment as Prime Minister.

Easy to read, the volume is enriched by nearly twenty pages of footnotes, a lengthy and somewhat undiscriminating bibliography, and an index. It is regrettable that there is no glossary; many European political terms need some explanation for the American reader. The book is an apologia and should be read as such. The author presents De Gasperi as the perfect republican and democrat—in American terms. But others doubt that the question of monarchy versus republic, hereditary versus elected head of state within a constitutional frame, really mattered to De Gasperi either in Austria in 1912 or in Italy in 1945. No one can say whether conviction or expediency made De Gasperi a democrat. His sympathy for Austrian Christian Socialists, from Lueger on, and for the German *Zentrum* may provide a correct measure of De Gasperi's democratic republicanism. The author mentions contacts De Gasperi had with exiles while serving as a Vatican librarian; she does not mention the contacts he cautiously maintained with anti-Fascists living in Italy. Some whitewashing is understandable, but it is likely to meet with objections. It is a pity that in this book one can only discover by inference a major factor in the success of De Gasperi, a modest and somewhat limited man, in the faction-ridden Catholic parties, *Popolare* and Christian Democratic, and therefore in Italian politics: he was profoundly honest.

Smith College M. SALVADORI

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KLEINE GESCHICHTE POLENS. By *Gotthold Rhode.* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. 1965. Pp. xvi, 543.)

SINCE World War II there has been much writing on specialized topics in Polish history. Professor Rhode's purpose has been to summarize the long span of Polish history in a single compact volume in the interest of the German-speaking teacher and student for whom most contemporary works would be too detailed or specialized. Rhode, the author of numerous other studies on Poland, closed this historical account on September 1, 1939, since he felt that the beginning of World War II ended the period during which the fate of the Polish people could be shaped by the Poles themselves.

In general, the author has preserved good temporal balance throughout the long period covered. Since in German literature the treatment of Polish history between the fifteenth and eighteenth century is rather superficial, Rhode has devoted special attention to that period. Also he has emphasized political rather than social, economic, or cultural aspects. In three of the nineteen chapters he has interrupted his straight chronological treatment to discuss constitutional problems, the Church, and social conditions during the reigns of the Jagellonian dynasty. Although the author expresses the hope that the book will contribute to a more sympathetic understanding between Germans and Poles, he does not unduly stress Polish-German relations; nor does he give much space to the international background by way of explaining the outbreak of the Second World War in Poland. The book attempts to avoid controversial matters: the author presents no hypothesis of his own and does not explain the issues that have arisen so often in Polish affairs. The factual content of the book, nevertheless, is based on a thorough knowledge of historical sources and is set forth in an unusually interesting narrative style. It is probably significant that, of the two men to whom the book is dedicated, one is the late German professor, Werner Markert, editor of a handbook on Poland (1959), who, Rhode believes, has contributed to a better understanding of Polish-German relations, while the other, a brother of the author though of German origin, was killed in a Polish military unit early in World War II. The work does not include a bibliography. As a one-volume history for the student and general reader, this survey is excellent.

Library of Congress JANINA W. HOSKINS

CRONICA TRANSILVANIEI, 1608–1665 [Chronicle of Transylvania, 1608–1665]. By *Georg Kraus.* Translated with an introduction by *G. Duzinchevici* and *E. Reus-Mîrza.* [Cronicile Medievale ale României, Supplement 1.] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române. 1965. Pp. xxxiii, 603. Lei 27.)

PUBLICATION of *Cronica Transilvaniei* as a supplementary volume in the distinguished series "Cronicele Medievale ale României" is indicative of growing Rumanian interest in the history of Transylvania. That concern, however, is not confined to problems of the seventeenth century. The editors of Kraus's chronicle are at least as preoccupied with demonstrating the validity of current political

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theses regarding Rumanian historic rights to Transylvania and the preponderant role of the masses in the struggle for national and social liberation as with providing an annotated translation of a detailed *compte rendu* of the events of the turbulent period 1608–1665.

Fitting the data supplied by the chronicler into contemporary theories requires extensive *explanations de texte.* The editors attach disproportionate attention to issues only casually alluded to by Kraus when such involve social and political unrest. The Sibiu uprising of 1645–1646 and the so-called *Răscoala Seimenilor* (mercenaries' rebellion) of 1655–1656 are thus depicted as manifestations of national solidarity among the oppressed Rumanian masses of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia and of socioeconomic persecution by class and national enemies: Turks, Habsburgs, native voivodes, and Kraus's hero, George Rákóczy II. Kraus—himself guilty of "bourgeois" prejudice—is Duzinchevici's and Reus-Mîrza's whipping boy, but his pranks are nevertheless exposed in detail for better correction.

Cronica Transilvaniei, by itself, is a most interesting compilation of miscellaneous data on the seventeenth century. It is concerned with class conflicts, wars, revolts, foreign intrigues, and all other facets of the complex mosaic of Transylvanian history. Its greatest merit lies in the lucid account of the power elite's fight for political survival in the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War, during the period of intensification of the Habsburg-Ottoman struggle for hegemony. The editors have prepared an excellent translation of the chronicle. In that form Kraus and the facts speak for themselves.

University of Colorado STEPHEN FISCHER-GALAȚI

ALBANIA'S CAPTIVES. By *Pyrrhus J. Ruches.* (Chicago: Argonaut. 1965. Pp. ix, 213. $5.00.)

ISSUES rooted in a remote as well as recent past, legacies left by clashes among empires, major religions, and civilizations to feed the flames of nationalism on the Southeast European land bridge between East and West, and a characteristically impassioned struggle between Greece and Albania over a small but to the two adversaries important territory are the subject of this work. A region of some 2,400 square miles, inhabited by about 250,000 people is involved. To the Greeks, this is northern Epirus; to the Albanians who control it, this is the province of Gjinokastër and its adjacent districts.

At the end of the Balkan Wars, this region was included in the newly created, predominantly Mohammedan, Albania by a fiat of the Great Powers. This decision was made mainly to accommodate Italian insistence that the opposite shore of the Strait of Otranto be acquired by a minute and underdeveloped Albania rather than by Greece. A summary international survey of linguistic patterns in the region supplied a justification for this decision by establishing that the Albanian language was, and still is, spoken almost exclusively in northern Epirus. The boundaries, and implicitly this criterion, were confirmed by the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

Yet, despite the language uses, not all, indeed, very few, people in this region

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are Albanian. Especially in the districts south and southwest of the Tepelenë mountain range and along the Greek border, the Albanian-speaking villagers are Christian, not Muslim; they are apart from the Albanian tribal structure; the Ghegs and the Tosks alike regard them as aliens; and they consider themselves Greek, whatever their language. Unfortunately, the author of this work chooses to focus on Greece's historic claims, rather than on considerations effectively supporting the right of self-determination. This approach of course does disservice to a work that comes very close to throwing a strong beam of light upon a set of moral as well as practical issues in modern international affairs.

Long Island University DRAGOŠ D. KOSTICH

BOLGARSKII NAROD V BOR'BE PROTIV FASHIZMA (NAKANUNE I V NACHAL'NYI PERIOD VTOROI MIROVOI VOINY) [The Bulgarian People in the Struggle against Fascism (On the Eve and at the Beginning of the Second World War)]. By *L. B. Valev*. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1964. Pp. 371.)

BASED chiefly upon federal and regional Bulgarian archives, this study presents some interesting, useful information on economic and political developments during the period September 1939–June 1941. Valev has documented more fully than any previous writer the German economic domination of Bulgaria, showing how this strangle hold precipitated the country's slide into satellite status. It was not merely a case of Germany's being heavily in debt to Bulgaria; the servicing of the debt was generally conducted on German terms. Thus, with credits obtained through the sale of agricultural products and mineral ores, Bulgaria was "permitted" to buy precision machinery, optical instruments, and military equipment. Since the capacity to utilize these items was limited, most of them gathered dust in warehouses in Sofia and other centers. Then, when King Boris signed the Axis Pact on March 1, 1941, it became an easy matter for Berlin to buy back its expensive equipment at vastly reduced rates and throw it into the war effort in the Balkans and later in Russia.

Valev describes this process with reasonable accuracy, but his analysis begins to break down on the question of why it all happened. For the mess in which Bulgaria found itself by early 1941 Valev blames, in descending order, the Western Powers, the "monarcho-fascist" regime of Boris, and the "Left-sectarian deviation" in the Bulgarian Workers' (Communist) party. Valev accuses Chamberlain, Daladier, and surprisingly enough Roosevelt of doing everything possible to turn Germany's might against the Soviet Union in order to protect Western imperialist interests; the old canard is not documented. Nor is the attempt to pin the fascist label on Boris and his advisers convincing; dictatorial and oppressive the regime clearly was, but the identification of such an authoritarian system as "fascist" is simply an abuse of language.

Finally, Valev maintains that the Bulgarian Communists, having purged their ranks of subversive elements, led a popular struggle against fascism and war. In actual fact there was no coordinated opposition, and that which did exist was largely independent of a Communist party that, following the example set in

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Moscow after the conclusion of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, expended more vitriol upon the British than upon the Germans—and continued to do so as late as June 1941. Concerning the failure of the Soviet Union to intervene directly in an attempt to preserve Bulgarian independence, Valev cites not the understanding between Moscow and Berlin but rather the "threat" to the Transcaucasian oil complex posed by General Weygand's army in Syria, a threat that "distracted" Moscow's attention from the Balkans.

Valev's book, in sum, will have a limited usefulness for the specialist willing to ignore some jargon that might have been written fifteen years ago.

University of Virginia WOODFORD D. MCCLELLAN

ALLIANZ HITLER–HORTHY–MUSSOLINI: DOKUMENTE ZUR UNGARISCHEN AUSSENPOLITIK (1933–1944). Introductory study and preparation of the acts for publication by *Magda Ádám et al.* Edited by *Lajos Kerekes.* [Institut für Geschichte an der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1966. Pp. 409. $10.50.)

THIS is a collection of 136 select documents drawn mainly from the archives of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry and the private secretariat of Admiral Horthy. Although most of these documents have already appeared in Hungarian, only a few were printed in English in *The Confidential Papers of Admiral Horthy* (for a review of two such documentary collections in Hungarian, see *AHR,* LXXI [Apr. 1966], 1016). The substantial introduction to this publication shows, as do the documents, that Horthy's Hungary played a dangerous game of foreign policy when it sought the aid of Germany and Italy in its quest for frontier revision, while attempting to preserve its independence and the good will of the Western Powers. Ultimately, this policy had to fail. Italy, whom the Hungarian leaders courted much more than they did Germany, had only good words to offer; France and England were indifferent. Germany alone helped, but exacted in exchange heavy concessions. Germany, moreover, used the threat of Slovak, Croatian, and Rumanian intervention whenever the Hungarians rebelled against these concessions. That Hungary, militarily weak and cursed with an enormous number of Nazi collaborators, could nevertheless make a show of independence, pursue its own imperialist policy, and, as late as March 1944, act as an almost neutral power is an amazing fact of history.

Needless to say, the authors of the introduction show no sympathy for the clever tactics of the "ruling classes." After all, Horthy's Hungary remained anti-Bolshevist to the end and expected the victors, be they Germans or Anglo-Saxons, to help maintain the archaic social structure of Hungary. But, in fact, was it possible to reorient Hungarian foreign policy before the arrival of the Red Army, and are the editors to be taken seriously when they claim that only the underground, and practically nonexistent, Communist party had the solution in hand when it advocated total opposition to Germany? The price of such resistance—the death of all (not only of two-thirds) of the Jews, and of Hungary's home Communists as well—would have been terrible to pay.

Columbia University ISTVAN DEAK

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ESSAYS IN RUSSIAN HISTORY: A COLLECTION DEDICATED TO GEORGE VERNADSKY. Edited by *Alan D. Ferguson* and *Alfred Levin*. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1964. Pp. xxv, 317. $9.00.)

THIS *Festschrift* contains a dedication that summarizes Professor Vernadsky's life, a bibliography of his works, and nine historical studies. The bibliography compiled by Dr. Ferguson and the first study, "George Vernadsky as a Historian of Ancient and Medieval Russia," by Dimitri Obolensky, the only contributor to the volume who has never been a student of Vernadsky, were first published in 1954 in the fifth volume of "Oxford Slavonic Papers" and have already proved their usefulness to scholars. Here they are brought up to date, no mean task for either writer considering Vernadsky's remarkable productivity.

In the second study B. Philip Lozinski discusses the controversy among scholars concerning "The Name *Slav*" and proposes his own somewhat different explanation of it. Next Oswald P. Backus writes learnedly of "Muscovite Legal Thought, the Law of Theft, and the Problem of Centralization, 1497–1589." Following Backus, Andrew Lossky reconstructs and analyzes "La Piquetière's Projected Mission in 1682 and the Swedish Policy of Louis XIV." While peripheral to Russian history, the article is a finely drawn diplomatic vignette. In an article entitled "The Russian Military Settlements, 1825–1866," Ferguson contributes to the volume, and to our knowledge, important and surprising information concerning the extent of the reformed military colonies in the reign of Nicholas I. Turning to a totally different aspect of the same period, the specialist on Slavophilism, Peter Christoff, deals with the views of "A. S. Khomiakov on the Agricultural and Industrial Problem in Russia." Alfred A. Skerpan, in the longest study in the book, presents the crucial question of "The Russian National Economy and Emancipation." The author's analysis gains from his clear-cut, rather than hesitant, manner, and it should provoke discussion if not always assent. The volume concludes with two careful and scholarly treatments of important events: Alfred Levin's article on "June 3, 1907: Action and Reaction," and Eric H. Boehm's "Hitler's Decision to Attack the Soviet Union: The End of the Grand Design."

It is highly fitting that a *Festschrift* for Vernadsky spans the period from the origin of the Slavs to the Second World War and that it includes expert studies in political, administrative, diplomatic, intellectual, and economic history, as well as in historiography, bibliography, and philology. The dedication mentions Vernadsky's unfailing kindness to all students in the field, a characteristic as prominent and remarkable as his scholarly productivity which began in 1914 and is continuing undiminished more than fifty years later.

University of California, Berkeley NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY

PRAVOSLAVNAIA INKVIZITSIIA V ROSSII [The Orthodox Inquisition in Russia]. By *E. F. Grekulov*. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1964. Pp. 166.)

ALTHOUGH a popular antireligious work is not where one would expect to find evidence of scholarship, this little volume, published by the Academy of Sciences

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of the USSR, contains a wealth of material from the Russian archives, from published sources, and from the works of prerevolutionary scholars. The author discusses the facts thus presented in a restrained manner. As a result, the volume makes a strong indictment of the Russian Orthodox Church.

While the Russian Church, unlike that of Spain, actually did not have a centralized institution to fight heresy and dissent, the zeal of its clergy and the support from the government were sufficient to accomplish much of its purpose. From the early centuries on, Mr. Grekulov shows, the Russian Church relentlessly hunted down heretics, who were tortured and burned, or immured for life in grim monastery cells. Witches and sorcerers were dealt with in similar fashion, with the last burnings occurring late in the nineteenth century. Perhaps the saddest page of Russian religious history was the treatment of the Old Believers, who, more orthodox than the Church itself and fanatical in their stubbornness, fled to remote wilds to escape capture by bands of troops, often led by ecclesiastics. Because many who were caught suffered merciless torture and then died at the stake, numerous Old Believers and their families burned themselves in their own churches rather than fall into the hands of their persecutors. It was only in the nineteenth century that these horrors ended.

The author also describes the efforts of the Orthodox clergy to win converts from Lutherans, Catholics, Russian sectarians, Muslims, and heathens. Much of this was done by violent means; reliance on police measures continued until the eve of 1917. Similarly, he stresses the Church's fight against "dangerous" ideas, such as the works of Voltaire, Diderot, and Darwin, or those of Radishchev, Belinskii, and Tolstoi.

Probably a propagandist like Grekulov rarely seeks to present both sides of the question. Nonetheless, the overwhelming weight of his evidence and the persistence of the repressive policy of the Russian Church until modern times suggest that any liberal influences in its ranks did not counterbalance its repressive tendencies.

Duke University JOHN SHELTON CURTISS

THE RUSSIANS AT SEA: A HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN NAVY. By *David Woodward*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1966. Pp. 254. $6.95.)

THE Russian Navy immediately brings to mind Peter the Great, Navarino, Sinope, Dogger Bank, Tsushima, the *Potemkin*, the Kronstadt rebellion of 1921, Admiral Kolchak, and development of the submarine—and fishing trawler—since 1945. The historian is likely to know little more of the background of the world's second largest fleet. It is the virtue of Woodward's clearly written account that he attempts to place all these events and others in historical perspective and to trace the Russian Navy from 1703 to the present.

The emphasis is on dramatic events of battle, narrowly interpreted. Training, leadership, and the navy's relation to Russian society, diplomacy, and policy are virtually ignored. The most startling hiatus is, perhaps, the slight attention paid to doctrine and foreign influences; Mahan is not mentioned, let alone less well-known schools of thought such as the *Jeune École*. The many and loosely rea-

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soned parallels with modern developments, as well as the jejune anecdotes, do not plaster over these gaps. Less important, but annoying, the maps do not match the text.

These serious defects are traceable in part to the author's utilization of only a few works, though often well selected, in English, French, and German. Even lacking Russian sources, a more useful work would have emerged by closer and more detailed attention to the many sources and estimates of the Russian Navy in foreign languages. Oddly enough for a journalist, Woodward did not consult the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*.

Was there really a Russian naval tradition differing significantly from those of other countries? Woodward hardly raises this question and does not establish that there was. In this pioneer work, however, he does point up the need for detailed study in this neglected and topical area of historical investigation.

Duke University FREDERIC B. M. HOLLYDAY

THE ART OF VICTORY: THE LIFE AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF FIELD-MARSHAL SUVOROV, 1729–1800. By *Philip Longworth*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1966. Pp. 350. $7.50.)

THIS highly sympathetic and well-written account of the life and career of one of Russia's greatest military leaders concentrates on the details of his campaigns and his ideas regarding military organization and strategy. Political and diplomatic events are not covered in depth. This approach is understandable since Suvorov was a soldier, not a statesman or courtier. The value of the book thus lies in its analysis of the strengths of Suvorov as a military leader and in the detailed descriptions given of his victories, particularly in Poland, the Danubian Principalities, northern Italy, and his last and greatest achievement in Switzerland, where in 1799 he faced enormous difficulties in the passage of the Alps.

Suvorov is portrayed in this book as personally an eccentric and difficult man, often in conflict with his influential contemporaries and unhappy in his personal life. For his genius in the field and his success in battle, the author has the highest praise: "He won far too frequently to be called lucky: he never lost." Emphasis is also placed on his good relations with his men, the devotion he inspired in them, and his innovations as a military leader: "It was he who first broke away from the conventional strategies of the eighteenth century. He anticipated Napoleon in bringing mobility to warfare; he instilled into his conscripted peasant serfs the dash and the attacking spirit no other army possessed until the French after their Revolution. He created a legend, and traditions which have lasted to the present day in the Red Army."

The book has, unfortunately, no bibliography, but the footnoting is primarily from Russian sources, in particular from G. P. Meshcheryakov's editing of *A. V. Suvorov: Dokumenty* (4 vols., 1949–53). Other biographies of Suvorov are discussed in the introduction and in Chapter x, "Suvorov's Place in Military History." This last section, perhaps the most interesting in the book, describes the changing views on Suvorov, the use made of his name during the Second World War, and his place among the great military commanders of history. The book is

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well illustrated, with excellent diagrams of the battles described. It is highly recommended to anyone interested in military history.

Indiana University BARBARA JELAVICH

IVAN AKSAKOV, 1823–1886: A STUDY IN RUSSIAN THOUGHT AND POLITICS. By *Stephen Lukashevich.* [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 57.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. 191. $5.50.)

THIS book is badly written. Since Ivan Aksakov was a fairly interesting and undoubtedly important writer, and since Slavophilism, the ideology of which he was the most effective publicist, was a powerful shaping factor in the formation of modern Russia, the more's the pity. "An attempt will be made," Professor Lukashevich tells us, "to give a synthetic picture of the underlying social assumptions of Slavophilism." We are immediately confronted with what is surely no ordinary insensitivity to the metaphoric thrust of language.

The book shows, nevertheless, a pale flickering of uncertain light, and where that comes from there may well be a whole burst of illumination. It contains two important and closely related insights. The first is that the psyche of Aksakov was a kind of paradigm for the fiercely ambivalent nineteenth-century Slavophilism that in the twentieth century ended either in terrorist revolutionary Populism or in the Black Hundred. The second is that it is more interesting to approach the subject from a psychological and psychoanalytical point of view than from that of the traditional history of ideas.

The interesting details all have to do with the family life of the Aksakovs and are all psychoanalytic. Lukashevich points out that Ivan became a Slavophile only after the deaths of his father and his older brother Konstantin. The latter had been his father's and the family's darling, whereas Ivan as a boy had tended to look out wistfully from backstage on the scene of the family's affections. He obviously felt himself responsible for both deaths, especially Konstantin's, and he hastily adopted as his own views he had previously contested. As a publicist, he was much more successful than Konstantin. At the same time, however, he stopped writing the poetry that had been his own personal gift, and he inserted a strain of violent aggressiveness into Slavophilism that had been foreign to Konstantin and Konstantin's friends and, indeed, to his own earlier view of the world.

One aspect of this aggressiveness was Aksakov's anti-Semitism, which became more and more pronounced as he grew older. Quite rightly, the author lingers and frets over this. As he points out, the Jews were Slavophiles of sorts—a religiously based social community, offering itself as a light unto the gentiles. Before the deaths of his father and brother, Ivan had been positively attracted to the Jews; afterward, he revenged himself for his capitulation to Christianity by symbolically murdering the parent religion, Judaism.

Aggressiveness is merely a response to an imagined threat, a kind of defense. Such a defense may be seen in Aksakov's only original contribution to Slavophile ideology, his theory of *obshchestvo* (the public). After the emancipation of the peasantry he could remain true to the original Slavophile faith in the *narod*

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(folk) only by positing its control and articulation in a conscious and educated public that would represent without repressing the unconscious, ignorant *narod*. It seems quite clear that this very "wishful" image of society is a projection of what Aksakov liked to think about his own character, or what he desired for it—an active consciousness, shaped and formed by the impulses of his unconscious, drawing freely on its energies, yet without the danger of their destructiveness. He wanted a psyche free of repression, yet could not handle the unconscious energies he prized except by turning them aggressively against "outsiders" who were really "insiders" in disguise. He was not a happy man.

Lukashevich comes very close to saying all of this, yet he does not quite say it. While the psychoanalytic approach is one of his strengths, he is nevertheless beguiled by it into judging Aksakov "sick"—a moral judgment in disguise, not a psychoanalytic observation. All in all, I must confess I found this tangled and awkward book more interesting than many smoother ones.

University of Rochester SIDNEY MONAS

TOLSTOJ UND DIE REVOLUTIONÄRE BEWEGUNG. By *Erwin Oberländer*. (Munich: Verlag Anton Pustet. 1965. Pp. 280. DM 22.)

AMONG the most disputed questions for historians of Russia's old regime are the origins, aims, and decline of the intelligentsia. Whether this unique social group is considered a phenomenon of moral grandeur and self-sacrifice, or naïve utopians who undermined an evolving society and paved the way for a regime that would crush them, or hypocritical power seekers, few doubt their importance or question their earnestness.

Tolstoi forms a fascinating touchstone for the social views of the intelligentsia, especially in the last three decades of his life when he turned, after the murder of the Tsar Liberator (1881), increasingly to social questions. He combined implacable attacks on the unconcern and hypocrisy of the Church and the arrogance of the bureaucracy with insistence upon true Christianity, particularly nonresistance to evil by force. Tolstoi was impossible for the revolutionaries and liberals to ignore or to use. No one was more forceful in criticizing wrongs than he, but the renunciation of all violence, including revolutionary struggle, the suspicion of science and the intellectuals, and the adulation of peasants made him, in revolutionary eyes, the unwitting ally of the possessing classes, even the most dangerous enemy of progress. The liberals, applauding his concern for the personality, feared his uncompromising demands for the renewal of man. Yet all saluted his great talent. Berdyaev well compared his importance for the Russian Revolution to Rousseau's for the French. Even Lenin, who with Plekhanov debased Tolstoi criticism to the level of inner party polemic, wrote of Tolstoi's work to Gorki: "It is a colossus! What a giant of a man!"

Mr. Oberländer has treated the varied reactions of revolutionaries and, despite his overly modest title, the liberals to Tolstoi's writings. Some forty writers in all are given succinct, careful appraisals, with the longest section devoted to the most important figure, N. I. Mikhailovskii.

Although the author was not able to use the mass of revolutionaries' news-

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papers, which are difficult to obtain outside the USSR, he has made good use of the "thick journals," the memoirs of the period, and the historiography of Russian, Soviet, and Western scholars. The excellent bibliography is divided into sections on reference works, studies of Tolstoi, and writings of and on the intelligentsia. Classic articles on the intelligentsia by Blok, Fedotov, and Stepun (the religious roots of populism) should have been included, but these omissions are *Schönheitsfehler;* this section on the intelligentsia is the best of its kind known to me. The index is unfortunately confined to a "Personenregister."

This is a very good book, carefully researched, clearly written, and of interest to historians of Russia, of intellectual history, and of revolutionary movements.

Queens College ALLEN MCCONNELL

VOZNIKNOVENIE PERVOI MIROVOI VOINY (IIUL'SKII KRIZIS 1914 G.) [Origins of the First World War (The July Crisis of 1914)]. By *N. P. Poletika.* (Moscow: "Mysl'." 1964. Pp. 605.)

SOVIET historians, especially of recent events, find it wise periodically to revise their works to conform to the latest party line on those events. The present study by Nikolai Pavlovich Poletika, an older (born in 1896) Soviet historian, is a revised and expanded version of Chapters IV–IX of his earlier work *Vozniknovenie mirovoi voiny* [Origins of the World War] (1935). Before that he wrote the study *Saraevskoe ubiistvo* [The Sarajevo Murder].

During World War I Lenin several times charged the tsarist government of Russia with complicity in the outbreak of the war. In 1915, for instance, he wrote: "The tsarist monarchy in Russia is waging a predatory war, rushing to conquer Galicia, to deprive Turkey of lands, to subjugate Persia, Mongolia, etc." Such views became inopportune to the Soviet government in the 1930's when it faced hostile Nazi Germany. Since World War II the Soviet government has taken a decidedly patriotic view of Russian history. The views of the founder of the Soviet state, nevertheless, remain party dogma. Poletika has reconciled this by resorting to the simple expedient (much used in present Soviet historiography) of quoting Lenin's views in the introduction and initial paragraphs of the chapters of his book, and then, without much regard for them, proceeding to give a pragmatic, factual account of the July crisis, seeking to put Russia's part in it in the best possible light. He readily concedes that the tsarist government contributed to the eruption of the war by being the first to declare a general mobilization, but contends that the Russian mobilization had been provoked by the German and Austrian "imperialists" and not only condoned but actively encouraged by the French and British "imperialists." Despite the use of Marxist verbiage, however, this is basically not a Marxist but a patriotic Russian account of the July crisis.

Poletika has used no archival materials, Soviet or others, in the preparation of his book. It is based on the standard collections of documents on the origins of World War I and on memoirs of the participants in the July crisis in the English, French, German, Russian, and Serbo-Croatian languages. Most of these materials have been available to other historians of the *Kriegsschuldfrage;* thus, Poletika's book contains little that is new. It is, nevertheless, not without merit. It is care-

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fully written and documented. Since it represents a lucid, well-reasoned current Soviet account of the fateful July crisis, it would be useful to have an English translation of it.

Florida State University VICTOR S. MAMATEY

THE BOLSHEVIKS: THE INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE TRIUMPH OF COMMUNISM IN RUSSIA. By *Adam B. Ulam*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1965. Pp. ix, 598. $9.95.)

THE conclusion to be drawn from this cradle-to-grave biography of Lenin is that the father of Bolshevism was also the source of Stalinist Russia, that Lenin formed Soviet society in his own image and "made inevitable" Stalin's cult of personality and mass terror.

Bit by bit, Ulam molds the character capable of these prodigious achievements. In the very week that his brother was executed Lenin passed with highest distinction his final gymnasium examinations, placing first in his class. Dry and reserved in almost all associations, he detested the broad, emotional nature and the exuberant camaraderie of the familiar Russian intellectual and revolutionary. His parochialism was astonishing. In Paris, Geneva, and London he was blind to everything unrelated to the cause. His furious hatred and disdain for liberals and moderates any place and at any time were boundless. Obsessed with conspiratorial tactics, he cherished a state of siege mentality even when clearly needless. He could remain absolutely alone and as often as necessary split and split again from any group or person he could not control, yet his enormous will and energy, his facile cynicism, and his talent for psychological terror enabled him to dominate even where he and his coterie were the minority. His compulsiveness extended everywhere: he was overwrought at the thought of late library books; a suit and umbrella were his gear for a hike; he was incessantly fascinated with health and exercise; and in all things he craved order and efficiency.

Since the Bolshevik victory was the product of this extraordinary personality plus the breakdown of tsarist Russia, Ulam skillfully weaves together Lenin and his times, alternately surveying general Russian history and winding his way through the labyrinth of Leninist theory and practice. All of it is well written. Some of it is novel: Ulam's treatment of the 1903 Congress and the conflicts surrounding it, the years 1908–1914, the alternatives facing the provisional government, the July 1917 fiasco, and the chaotic first years of Bolshevik rule. The last of these is superbly done. Throughout the book there are, as well, a number of fine anecdotes for which lecturers will be most grateful. Still, most of the material, covering both party and general history, is familiar, and, perhaps the inevitable price of Ulam's approach, the long and frequent excursions into general history divert attention from the real subject. We hover over, before, and after Lenin; we are too seldom with him. In fact, for all that is written here about Lenin, he just does not come alive, except, paradoxically, in his dying years, for which Ulam provides an enthralling, if highly conjectural, drama of an alleged Politburo plot against Lenin.

Two other features of the study troubled me. Why does Ulam repeatedly try

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to reconcile Lenin with Marxism when he himself gathers so much weighty evidence to show that, in his disregard for Marxist historical patterns, his ready opportunism, and his romantic penchant for anarchistic violence and audacity, he was closer to Zhelyabov, to revolutionary Populism, than to Marxism? And why do Plekhanov, Martov, Struve, Milyukov, and other prerevolutionary foes of Lenin emerge so poorly? Lenin may indeed have been great, as Ulam often reminds us, but is it necessary to portray his opponents as, in various combinations, fatuous, feeble, hysterical, gullible, venomous, insipid, and the like? After all, the losers lost because they were finer people, men and women who, in times so out of joint, were simply no match for Lenin's fanatic intolerance, egomania, cruelty, and limitless duplicity.

University of Michigan ARTHUR P. MENDEL

SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY, 1924–1926. Volume III, Parts 1 and 2. By *Edward Hallett Carr*. [A History of Soviet Russia.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1964. Pp. xii, 597; 605–1050. $17.50 the set.)

THIS work completes the middle installment of Mr. Carr's "History of Soviet Russia." It deals with Russia's foreign policy between Lenin's death and Stalin's assumption of power and embraces both the formal diplomatic relations of the Soviet government and the informal ones of the Communist International. Part 1 is devoted to relations with Western countries; Part 2, with the rest of the world.

By now Carr's successive volumes hold few surprises. The research continues to be remarkably thorough. Indeed it is difficult to grasp how one person, without a staff of assistants, is able to cover so much factual material dispersed in so many sources. The events are related clearly and in great detail. There is no history of Soviet foreign policy in the 1920's that can remotely compare with Carr's treatment as far as factual coverage is concerned. In particular, the history of the individual Communist parties outside the USSR is described with a thoroughness achieved in no previous general history.

But the conceptual framework is as unsatisfactory here as it has been in the preceding volumes. Carr is not interested in questions that intrigue most historians; he is content to ascertain the facts. But since facts are not objects to be plucked and fixed on the printed page, his refusal to engage in speculation sometimes causes him to miss the very essence of his subject matter.

What were the motives of Soviet foreign policy in the mid-1920's? Carr tells us that "the threat of the capitalist world was a constant factor which Soviet foreign policy must take into account." But he goes on to speak of Soviet foreign policy as having an "offensive" long-term aim, and then describes the goal of the Comintern as "active promotion of revolution" abroad. Now it is perfectly possible that Soviet foreign policy was simultaneously inspired by fear and by aggressive intentions, but as the two motives are contrary, the reader of so vast a book has a right to expect some guidance in the matter. He does not get it. In the end he learns more about the operations of the Turkish Communist party than about the fundamental principles of Soviet foreign policy.

A puzzling feature of the "History" is Carr's neglect of Western scholarship

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on Soviet Russia. He is right, of course, in basing his narrative on primary sources, but this is not always possible, partly because the material is too voluminous even for someone of his diligence, and partly because he does not command all the necessary languages in which it is written. In the introduction, Carr says that there are only two "reasonably adequate" histories of national Communist parties: Rothschild's on the Bulgarian party and Draper's on the American one. The field, however, is not as barren as all that. Thomas Hammond's *Soviet Foreign Relations and World Communism* lists hundreds of books and articles on the subject, the majority of which Carr does not seem to have consulted or taken seriously enough to have considered. To cite but two examples: In his sections on the Polish Communist party Carr makes no reference to M. K. Dziewanowski's *The Communist Party of Poland,* though he makes six references to his own previous books. The omission is even more glaring in the case of China. Carr presumably does not read Chinese, for he relies on Western translations of Chinese sources, including Brandt, Schwartz, and Fairbank, *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism.* Yet he dismisses by implication the important monographs by two authors of this volume (Brandt's *Stalin's Failure in China, 1924–1927,* and Schwartz's *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*), both based on extensive analysis of Chinese primary materials and familiarity with the entire subject. Carr cites each book once, referring to documents they provide but ignoring completely their interpretations and conclusions. On Nazi-Soviet military collaboration not a word is breathed about G. Freund's *Unholy Alliance.* Carr's neglect of Western scholarship, some of it of high caliber, is the more puzzling in that he freely draws on secondary Soviet works.

As it nears completion, this work turns out to be less an analytic history than a one-man encyclopedia. Its value is likely to be that of an indispensable handbook.

Harvard University RICHARD PIPES

TUKHACHEVSKI. By *Lev Nikulin.* (Moscow: Ministerstvo Oborony. 1964. Pp. 197.)

SINCE Khrushchev's de-Stalinization speech at the Twentieth Party Congress a considerable number of persons liquidated in the purges of the late thirties have been rehabilitated, among them Marshal Tukhachevski, former commander of the Red Army.

Stalin's reasons for the executions of Tukhachevski and other high-ranking Red officers has long been a mystery. For some twenty-five years, since the sentencing of the marshal, nothing about him appeared in print in the Soviet Union. Therefore, Lev Nikulin's biography was eagerly awaited in the hope that it would illuminate the events surrounding the trials of the late thirties. The reader expecting great revelations in this respect, however, will be quite disappointed. In the few pages he devotes to the circumstances surrounding the arrest and trial of the marshal, Nikulin alludes only to the well-known accounts in Western sources to the effect that Heydrich managed to have forged documents implicating Tukhachevski fall into the hands of Beneš, from whom they were transmitted to Stalin.

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Perhaps more pertinent for an appraisal of Stalinism in this period than any compilation of documents, however, is the fate of Tukhachevski's family, which the author mentions fleetingly. Following the execution of the marshal, his wife Nina and his two brothers, Aleksandr and Nikholaj, were executed. His three sisters were arrested and sent to camps, and his adolescent daughter, upon coming of age, was also arrested.

While this biography contains little that is startlingly new to the Western student of Soviet history, it does bring many aspects of Soviet thinking at various periods into better focus. It is interesting also to note that Nikulin, in quite a departure from most Soviet writing, implies further that a great part of the military disasters of 1941 can be ascribed to the liquidation of Tukhachevski and other officers.

The historian can only wish that the "various archive" materials on which, according to the introduction, Nikulin based his biography had included more information on the thirties.

Purdue University NORMAN LUXENBURG

VSESOIUZNOE SOVESHCHANIE O MERAKH ULUCHSHENIIA PODGOTOVKI NAUCHNO-PEDAGOGICHESKIKH KADROV PO ISTORICHESKIM NAUKAM, 18–21 DEKABRIA 1962 G. [The All-Union Conference on Measures for Improving the Training of Scholarly and Teaching Cadres in the Historical Sciences, December 18–21, 1962]. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1964. Pp. 517.)

IN December 1962 an All-Union Historical Conference was held in Moscow. The central theme of the four-day discussions was how to improve scholarship and teaching methods in the field of history. Two thousand historians and archivists gathered from all corners of the Soviet Union. The opening address was delivered by B. N. Ponomarev, the militant historian, after which the gathering broke up into three main sections: one on the history of the Communist party, another on Soviet history, and a third on world history.

It would be futile within the allotted space to present even a résumé of all the subjects discussed; nor would it be a profitable undertaking. Many speakers repeated criticisms concerning interpretations, clarity, or genuine Marxian understanding, and there was no lack of familiar demands for "high-level Leninist historical science," liquidation of the consequences of the Stalinist "cult of personality," or raising the low standards among history teachers. There was no lack of panaceas for achieving a triumph of "Leninist principles," particularly in the application of these to the study of Asian countries. Each of these subjects involved lengthy and often heated discussions.

At the recent International Congress in Vienna, the well-known historian, Militsa Nechkina, castigated her audience for the common lack of comprehension among Western historians of our *Zeitgeist* and for the prevailing parochialism among students of history. The general impression, one gathers from this volume, is that Soviet historians reveal very much the same weaknesses as their Western colleagues. As evidence of this, one has to read some of the cited debates

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and, incidentally, the address of Nechkina herself. She refers to the difficult times of the recent "epoch of the cult of personality," but understandably fails to quote some of the hosannas that she sang during that epoch.

One reads repeatedly about the inadequacy in "methodology of historical materialism" or about the need for a more intensive study of the Marxian philosophy of history in order to confront Western criticism. One comes across these demands so often that in despair one feels like crying out: "How long shall they utter and speak hard things? and all the workers of iniquity boast themselves" at international congresses?

Stanford University ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

Near East

ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES IN HONOR OF HAMILTON A. R. GIBB. Edited by *George Makdisi*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures of Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1965. Pp. xvii, 688. $29.50.)

THE twenty-page bibliography of Gibb's works included here shows the remarkable bulk of his published works and the great range of his interests: Arabic literature and Islamic political and social history of all periods, Islamic ideas and institutions, the traveler ibn-Batuta, Arabic historiography, and others. Readers of these works appreciate the penetrating and incisive thought of a master. This *Festschrift* by fifty distinguished Arabists and Islamists of several countries does not particularly represent his pupils or his closest colleagues, but constitutes a worthy tribute by the individual merits of many of the articles. Space allows only brief descriptions of a few that treat broader historical topics.

A. K. Lambton reviews the systems of *iqtaʿ* in medieval Iran and contrasts them with European feudalism in being imposed by sovereigns rather than arising as a contractual institution for the mutual benefit of lords and vassals. R. N. Frye sketches the Buyides' cultural policy in western Iran, where they fostered the Arabic and Islamic traditions found there without attempting to revive an Iranian culture. L. Gardet reflects on the limitations of *kalam* (not quite "theology," he says), and its relation to *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence). R. Paret surveys the history of Islam as a religion, asking what major radical changes (*Metamorphosen*) have occurred since the Prophet, and finds only three: the broadening from an Arab to a world faith, the Shiite interpretation, and the modern shrinkage in the scope of Islamic concern. S. H. Nasr shows what elements of pre-Islamic Iranian cosmology were absorbed into Shiite Islam. W. C. Smith explains the difference between *sharʿ* (God's act of commanding) and *sharīʿa* (the positive laws produced by that act). M. A. Bari discusses the reform movement of Sayyid Ahmad in nineteenth-century India. L. Binder examines the political role of the Shiite ulama in modern Iran, J. Berque the evolution of modern Arab commercial and managerial classes. G. E. von Grunebaum, in his best oracular styles, meditates on the relations of Orientalism to Western self-understanding. Among many interesting specialized articles perhaps the most important are the Arabic editions by

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Serajul Haque and G. Makdisi of two treatises by ibn-Taymiyya. There are a beautiful letter of dedication by G. Levi Della Vida and a short biographical notice by the editor.

Such a varied collection could have been given more unity by grouping the articles topically instead of alphabetically by authors. The high price of the volume is partly excused by the one hundred pages of Arabic and the art plates.

University of Michigan GEORGE F. HOURANI

DOCUMENTS FROM ISLAMIC CHANCERIES: ESSAYS. First Series. By *J. Aubin et al.* Edited by *S. M. Stern.* [Oriental Studies, Volume III.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. 254. $12.00.)

CHANCERY archives constitute a vast and largely untapped reservoir of sources for Islamic history. This volume is the first of several in the "Oriental Studies" series to be devoted to the publication and study of Islamic archival documents. The contents vary widely and presage the vast range encompassed by chancery documents. Photographic reproductions of the documents are appended at the end of the volume following six sections in which the texts are printed in the original language together with, except for the fifth section, an English translation. Background data, interpretation, and commentary complement each section.

S. M. Stern begins with two decrees of the Ayubite rulers al-'Adil and al-'Afḍal dating from 592/1195 and 595/1199. Both are from the archives of the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai and extend the ruler's protection to the monks residing there. John Wansbrough presents a commercial treaty of 894/1489 between the Mameluke Sultan Qū'itbāy and the republic of Florence and the negotiations preceding it. V. L. Ménage deals with seven Ottoman documents, two in Italian and four in Turkish emanating from Sultan Mehmed II and one in Greek from an Ottoman general. All pertain to peace negotiations with Venice in the 1470's. S. A. Skilliter studies three letters to Elizabeth I of England from Ṣāfiye, *Khāṣṣeḳi* of Murād III and mother of Mehmed III. Contemporary Italian translations of these letters are included along with several other letters. Jean Aubin publishes a Qara-Qoyunlu *soyūrghāl* of 859/1455 concerning districts in Fars. Finally, B. G. Martin considers seven Safawid documents from Azerbaijan, all having to do in some way with landed properties and dated from 914/1509 to 1016/1608.

Competent scholarship and careful editing enhance this volume's value which extends beyond the publication and interpretation of a limited number of documents to teach lessons in the methodology of documentary research. We can hope that subsequent volumes in this series will be equally rewarding.

University of Chicago RICHARD L. CHAMBERS

ARABY U GRANITS VIZANTII I IRANA V IV–VI VV. [The Arabs on the Borders of Byzantium and Iran in the Fourth to Sixth Century]. By *N. V. Pigulevsḳaia.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1964. Pp. 334.)

WITH the present volume, N. V. Pigulevskaia seems to conclude the series of monographs with which she has enriched Byzantine studies. After dealing with

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such topics as *Mesopotamia on the Threshold of the Sixth Century* (1940), *Byzantium and Iran on the Threshold of the Seventh Century* (1946), *Byzantium's Contacts with India* (1951), and *The Iranian Cities in the Early Middle Ages* (1956), she devotes the present volume to the Arab groups that organized state formations along the frontiers of the Byzantine and Iranian Empires in the fourth to sixth century. This conclusion of the series is the logical *nec plus ultra* for one interested in the pre-Islamic Semitic periphery of the Byzantine world. After a historiographical introduction, the book is divided into the following chapters: "The Arab Tribes on the Byzantine Frontier in the IVth–Vth Century"; "The Kingdom of the 'Persian' Arabs"; "The Dominance of the Kinda Dynasty"; "The Byzantine Phylarchs of the Ghassan Dynasty"; "The Defense of the Byzantine Frontiers and the Arabs"; "The Social Structure and Economic Peculiarities of Pre-Islamic Arab Society"; and "The Arabs and Christianity." The conclusion, the appendixes, the bibliographical list, and the indexes follow. There is, regrettably, only one small map.

This is possibly the first work to deal adequately with the history of the pre-Islamic northern Arabs as a whole, and to do so in the context of their relations with Byzantium, Iran, and southern Arabian Himyar. This history is, moreover, placed in the vaster framework of the cultural, political, economic, and religious history of the entire eastern Mediterranean world. The source material used for such an undertaking is extensive and varied: Sabaean and Himyarite epigraphical data, Byzantine and Syrian historical works, Christian Arab and Muslim Arab writings, Arab poetical works, and Greek and Syriac ecclesiastical documents. The book investigates the cultural, political, and economic influence of the two neighboring empires on the nomad and seminomad Arabs, and it shows that it was the final struggle between them that contributed to the expansionist outburst of these and other Arabs, now unified by Islam. As the author indicates, Christianity, too, helped this unification, but it proved too complex for the level of cultural development of most Arabs. This task was brilliantly accomplished by a creed that expressed, precisely, that level. This volume is a welcome contribution.

Georgetown University CYRIL TOUMANOFF

THE MODERN HISTORY OF LEBANON. By *K. S. Salibi*. [The Praeger Asia-Africa Series.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. xxvii, 227. $6.50.)

PROFESSOR Salibi begins his modern history of Lebanon with the rule of Amir Bashir II Shihab (1788–1840). His intrigues, vacillations, treacheries, murders, mutilations, and purposeful acts of destruction toward members of the other families of the Lebanon and with the Porte, Mohammed Ali, and Ibrahim of Egypt, Napoleon, the British, and Jazzar and Abdallah Pashas of Acre have become legendary. To follow Bashir's tortuous path requires a concentration and a nimbleness of wit supported by a thorough familiarity with the region and the general currents developing in the Levant at that time. It is difficult to recognize a distinct political structure for Lebanon until 1861.

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The number and variety of religions and sects and the many family and feudal rivalries have left their peculiar mark on contemporary Lebanese politics. These factors set the style of politics and the manner in which politicians operate. Yet the political organization of the modern Lebanese Republic dates from 1861. The last half of Salibi's study clearly portrays the political skein through the crisis of 1958 and the election of General Fuad Shihab as President. The account since 1920, particularly during World War II and the civil disturbances of 1958, is convincing and clear. Many points are of special interest. A most penetrating observation explains that Arab nationalism grew very slowly before 1908 but that the policies adopted by the Young Turks after 1908 quickly changed the atmosphere and tended to coalesce the nationalist movements of Christian and Muslim Arabs in Beirut and Damascus. Salibi treats his subject with great sensitivity and understanding, producing a useful and fine survey of the political affairs of modern Lebanon.

Because of the book's brevity, many points are omitted or scarcely touched. In the chapter "The Lebanese Awakening" a multitude of personages, schools, and publications are cited, but without the individual ideas and the tenor of the writings the reader becomes lost in names and places. Economic forces, remittances from abroad, and social and political ideas are almost ignored. Studies have been made showing that villages where considerable emigration occurred became noticeably different from others nearby that had little. In view of the chapter "The Lebanese Awakening," it seems strange that no mention is made in the bibliography of the writings on this subject by George Antonius and Zeine N. Zeine.

Ohio State University SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER

Africa

LES CONFINS SAHARO-TRIPOLITAINS DE LA TUNISIE (1881–1911). In two volumes. By *André Martel*. [Publications de l'Université de Tunis, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines. 4th Series, Histoire. Volume V.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1965. Pp. 824; 428. 28 fr.; 19 fr.)

STRETCHING from Morocco in the west to the Sudan in the east there is a Saharan band of undelineated boundaries even today. Before the middle of the nineteenth century Bedouin tribes roamed quite freely in this area, and caravans carried merchandise from Mogador in Morocco to the Nile River. This east-west trade route went through Ghadames in extreme southern Tunisia where it crossed north-south trade routes making this small village economically strategic. These volumes by André Martel describe this situation in great detail and tell how border disputes erupted to destroy the freedom of movement in the Saharan territory. When Turkey exercised suzerainty over Northern Africa there was little conflict, but the penetration of Algeria by France in 1830 ushered in a period when the European powers began to carve out spheres of influence that disrupted Bedouin freedom and Turkish suzerainty. The situation became even more pronounced in 1881 when France established a protectorate over Tunisia. Martel describes how tension grew and border disputes increased from 1881 until 1911. By

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numerous tables, maps, and meticulous documentation this work shows that increased trade in the villages bordering the Sahara was the prime reason for European penetration of the region. In Tunisia the French established a civilian control system for all areas except the extreme south where in 1886 they instituted a military control system. Warring tribes and disagreement with Turkey over the boundary between Tunisia and Tripolitania kept the south in a turmoil. Although a Franco-Turkish agreement of 1910 was able to solve some of the border disputes, the entrance of Italy into Tripolitania in 1911 further aggravated the situation.

These volumes present the most detailed work in existence of the economic, social, and political structure of the little-known tribes that lived on the edge of the Sahara. Carefully written and thoroughly documented, this is a penetrating study of a thirty-year period. The specialist in North African history must welcome Martel's book and consult it as a standard reference.

DePauw University DWIGHT L. LING

ASHANTI UNDER THE PREMPEHS, 1888–1935. By *William Tordoff*. [West African History Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 443. $6.75.)

THIS study examines in detail nearly a half century of Ashanti history. The treatment is essentially political since, as the author explains, excellent anthropological and sociological studies are available. It is centered on Ashanti, and slight effort is made to relate its history to developments in adjacent areas. A major portion is devoted to Prempeh I who emerges from these pages, potentially, as a great African leader.

Fundamentally, this is a study of British colonial policy, which the author criticizes freely. He suggests that the uncertain attitude toward West Africa, prevalent in the Colonial Office in the late nineteenth century, accounts for the blunders committed in Ashanti. The most serious was the treatment accorded Prempeh and events leading to the Rebellion of 1900. Administrative offices failed to support Prempeh in his efforts to unite Ashantiland, then deposed him when trouble ensued in 1896. This, the author tells us, "closed a somewhat discreditable chapter in the history of British rule on the Gold Coast." Subsequent policy eroded the traditional political, social, and religious institutions, thus making it difficult to establish a successful policy of indirect rule. The incident of the Golden Stool is, perhaps, the best example. An effort was made, after the restoration of Prempeh in 1926, to re-establish traditional institutions, but it was attempted too late.

The exhaustive bibliography includes a wealth of manuscript sources found in the Public Record Office, the Ghana National Archives, Regional and District Office Records, Office of the Ashanti House of Chiefs, and several others. Printed sources include the Colonial Reports, Parliamentary Papers, and similar material. The list of published secondary sources appears complete, with ample evidence from the text and accompanying citations that these sources have been used effectively. The book is an example of meticulous, exacting scholarship, yet well

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organized and written in a pleasing style. It is a worthy addition to a series that possesses an established reputation for excellence.

Temple University ARTHUR N. COOK

THE SUDAN: CROSSROADS OF AFRICA. By *Beshir Mohammed Said*. With an introduction by *Colin Legum*. ([Chester Springs, Pa.:] Dufour Editions. 1966. Pp. 238. $7.50.)

ONE of the most critical problems facing independent African states is the creation of a nation from disparate tribal, ethnic, and regional parts. The Sudanese Republic is no exception. From its birth in 1956 the Negroid, pagan, African-speaking Southern Sudan has remained a reluctant partner in the task of nation building, and its relations with the Arabic, Muslim, Northern Sudan have steadily deteriorated against a background of mutiny, rebellion, repression, and xenophobia. One of the Sudan's leading journalists, Beshir Mohammed Said, has attempted to analyze what has become known as "the Southern Problem." No one can quarrel with his purpose—a New Deal for the Southern Sudan and consequently for the Sudan as a whole—but the means by which he arrives at this laudable end consist of truths, half-truths, and just plain errors of fact.

First, the egregious mistakes arouse doubts and skepticism. In concluding his important chapter on British policy in the Southern Sudan, for example, Said asserts that "Christian missions were allowed to operate in the whole area, so that the South might be administered by, and become part of, Uganda and possibly Kenya." Although British officials in the Sudan vaguely considered that the South might one day be linked to East Africa, at no time was the proposal taken seriously, and at no time were Christian missionaries introduced so that the South might be administered by Uganda. The author then describes "Southern Policy," the efforts of the British officials to permit the development of "indigenous customs, traditional usage and beliefs" by excluding Northern influence. Not only does he fail to realize that Southern Policy grew out of the philosophy of indirect rule, but he concludes with the extraordinary statement that "by 1940 the policy had achieved great success." In fact Southern Policy had failed.

Between error and truth lies the twilight zone of faulty interpretation compounded by incomplete evidence or a misreading of the evidence or simply omission of evidence. In 1946, for instance, the Sudan Civil Secretary, Sir James Robertson, firmly declared that Southern Sudan would be bound inextricably with the North. Said asserts that a "good number" of British officials reacted unfavorably and cites a letter of T. R. H. Owen, deputy governor of the Bahr al-Ghazal, as evidence of dissatisfaction with Robertson's decision. In fact all but one of the British officials in the South, including Owen, approved. Even a cursory examination of Owen's letter clearly demonstrates that Owen supported Robertson's decision, but he did ask that "safeguards" for Southerners be provided by the Sudanese government to prevent precisely those abuses that Northerners have carried out in the South since independence.

Although the failure to find the facts or to use them correctly seriously compromises the validity of Said's statements, this book cannot be dismissed as a piece

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of propaganda. First, in spite of its inaccuracies, this is one of the few attempts by Northern Sudanese to come to grips with the Southern Problem. Second, his description of Northern Sudanese activity in the South since independence contains more balanced judgments and a willingness to recognize the follies and inequities that Northern politicians and soldiers have perpetrated on the Southern Sudanese. Third, over half the book is devoted to the publication of hitherto confidential files in the Sudanese government archives, and although one may criticize the selection of documents, their publication will preserve the usefulness of this book long after the opinions therein have been replaced by more meaningful historical interpretations.

University of California, Santa Barbara ROBERT O. COLLINS

ZANZIBAR: BACKGROUND TO REVOLUTION. By *Michael F. Lofchie.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. 316. $7.50.)

UNTIL recently, most writing about Zanzibar had a romantic, even an exotic quality. Sir John Gray and John Middleton have started serious historical and anthropological work in the islands; Mr. Lofchie now gives us the first study of their politics. His book is set within the framework of Zanzibar's history since the early nineteenth century, when it became an Oman Arab kingdom and an East African power. He is not, however, writing systematic political history; he is surveying the social and political reasons why, in January 1964, Zanzibar experienced a violent revolution that expelled the Busaid dynasty, turned the country into a socialist republic, and led to union with Tanganyika. Essentially, the reasons lie in the ethnic pattern of the islands and the relationship established between ethnicity and economics. Politics, Lofchie notes, have always been based on racial groupings; what has been interesting in Zanzibar has been the persistence of racial tensions despite a relatively open structure that permitted many persons of mixed descent to choose their own racial classification. Although viewed by most outsiders as an Arab community, Zanzibar is at least 80 per cent African. It was Arab control of the land, access to higher education, and the civil service that led to the revolution. Lofchie has done a thorough job on politics and party structure, and he gives a detailed account of the developments in Zanzibar before independence, including the tightly contested elections, the gerrymandering of electoral districts, and resulting riots. It is indicative both of his own approach and of the nature of politics in Zanzibar that he can do this without telling us much about the sultan's government or the nature of British control. In dealing with Parliament, he points out that this institution imposed by Britain never received the loyalty of any of the political parties, for all of them were willing to act outside the parliamentary framework after the British left.

The book is well written and organized, although occasionally a little repetitive, and it is better on contemporary politics than on history, where Lofchie can sometimes be faulted. It is based largely on government and party materials and on interviews. Toward the parties, the author is dispassionate and perhaps too gentle. There is little mention of the role that other African countries have played in Zanzibar's politics, such as the Egyptian sponsorship of the vehemently anti-

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British Voice of Zanzibar programs, or the long-standing relations between the African Association and the Tanganyika African National Union. Language tensions are not explored, and the role of Islam is not considered very extensively. The book is, however, a considerable contribution toward an understanding of politics in Zanzibar, and, if not the last word on the subject, it is a very good first one.

Smith College MARGARET L. BATES

A HISTORY OF NATAL. By *Edgar H. Brookes* and *Colin de B. Webb*. ([Pietermaritzburg:] University of Natal Press. 1965. Pp. 371. R3.30 postpaid.)

THE CONVICT CRISIS AND THE GROWTH OF UNITY: RESISTANCE TO TRANSPORTATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND AUSTRALIA 1848–1853. By *Alan F. Hattersley*. (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press. 1965. Pp. 142. $3.08 postpaid.)

THIS is the first one-volume general history of Natal to appear in sixty-two years. Edgar Brookes has had a long and distinguished career; Colin Webb researched and documented the work besides writing portions of it. This is not a settler history in which Africans and Asians appear as appendages; nor, by way of reaction, is the focus upon the Africans. Brookes has a deep understanding of the dilemmas of the dominant white minorities in Natal and a sensitive concern for the resentments of the other races living behind the color bar. His approach is that of the political liberal and Christian intellectual.

There is a certain grandeur about the technological achievements of the British in Natal, notably the development of Africa's greatest seaport in Durban. On the human side, the record is bleak. Boer, British, Zulu, Indian, and Coloured have long lived together in uneasy relationship in Natal, inflicting deep wounds upon each other in recurring crises. Blood River commemorates the 1838 slaughter of Zulu impis by Trek Boers. Weenen—literally, the place of weeping—keeps a Zulu massacre alive for Afrikaners. In hostility to the Trek, the British overthrew the Boer republic of Natalia in 1843. It was from Natal that they first annexed the Transvaal in 1877, and lost it there at Majuba four years later. Natal was the springboard for the British invasion of Zululand in 1879 and the violent destruction of Cetewayo's monarchy. Though the British were bound to the Transvaal Boers by material self-interest and racial calculations, their loyalty was severely tested when the Empire declared war on the republics in 1899, but they contributed to the humiliation of the Boers at Vereeniging in 1902. Though this history formally ends with the formation of the Union in 1902, Brookes contributes three supplementary chapters on Natal from 1910 to 1961.

This is a history without heroes, but it has three "greats," each of whom affronted the susceptibilities of Natal whites in their day: the early Shepstone; John Colenso, first Anglican bishop; and Gandhi, who learned in Natal the elements of *Satyagraha*. This is a scholarly, well-written history, tolerant in its assessment of even bitterly controversial issues and compassionate in its judgments. It is a valuable contribution to South African historical literature.

The work is dedicated to A. F. Hattersley, who, in a brief account of anti-

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convict agitation at the Cape, 1848–1853, makes two claims: first, that this resistance to transportation created an imperial crisis "comparable even to the drift to war in North America 1770–75"; second, this successful collaboration made of Boers and British "a South African people." Insufficient evidence is produced to substantiate either claim convincingly. The best parts are the descriptions of white folkways in Cape Town in mid-century, which Hattersley always does well.

Renison College, Waterloo, Ontario A. W. Rees

ZAMBIA. By *Richard Hall.* [Praeger Library of African Affairs.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. viii, 357. $8.50.)

This excellent survey of Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia, contains increasing detail as the story moves from the days of the British South Africa Chartered Company (often annoyingly called simply "Charter") into the crown colony period, and thence through the ill-fated Central African Federation, out of whose wreckage emerged Zambia. Although the CAF was a feckless thing, Northern Rhodesia's continued crown colony status in it, like the protected position of Nyasaland, gave its African leaders more leeway than their counterparts had or have in Southern Rhodesia. If local authorities jailed Kenneth Kaunda and other Africans in Northern Rhodesia, Whitehall quickly ordered their release. Indeed, Kaunda did not win in Zambia, but in Whitehall because of his shrewd manipulation of the imperial factor, which, therefore, Ian Smith is now determined shall not operate in Southern Rhodesia. Kaunda may be as much a London creation as the unhappy federation, and whether he can continue to lead without that imperial factor in his republic is problematical. Kaunda is certainly not as dominant a figure for the author as Nyerere or Nkrumah, although their fate suggests that towering leadership has its hazards.

The author sweeps to triumph with Kaunda, whose use of London to deal with the mineral rights of the Chartered Company recalls the techniques of Sir John A. Macdonald in dealing with the Hudson's Bay Company in Canada. Fortunately the writer sees clearly the great problems of Zambia, which refreshingly he does not lay at the door of a dead imperialism. A one-product country remains a one-product country, whatever its flag, and the world copper market is beyond the control of anyone in Zambia. Localism and tribalism have a way of breaking through nationalism. Greater emphasis might have been made upon Zambian dependence for rail transport and electrical power upon Southern Rhodesia, although the book was completed before UDI. Altogether, then, this is a most usable work, except for one matter which I have sworn to attack each time I encounter it: footnotes at the end of the book.

University of Southern California Colin Rhys Lovell

THE MALAGASY REPUBLIC: MADAGASCAR TODAY. By *Virginia Thompson* and *Richard Adloff.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 504. $12.50.)

Madagascar, near, but not quite of, Africa, is not well described in English-

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language works. The recent modest contribution by Raymond Kent, *From Madagascar to the Malagasy Republic* (1962), was written to serve until "more detailed and more elaborate contributions" came forth. Thompson and Adloff, following up their previous studies of the former territories of Western and French Equatorial Africa, partially fill this need for twentieth-century Madagascar.

The authors' brief description of pre-World War II events prefaces their main work: the furnishing of the necessary background for understanding the island's relatively easy progress to independence and its subsequent good relations with France, despite the major uprising of 1947, with its bitter aftermath, against the French. The historical background is essentially sound, although the American, Marks, who passes largely unnoticed in secondary French accounts, is not given his proper role as one of the very few Westerners allowed to remain in Madagascar during the reign of the isolationist queen, Ranavolana I. A minor correction is necessary for the Betsimisaraka people who raided by sea as far as territory in present-day Tanzania, and not only to the Comoro Islands. More consideration should also have been given to the role of European missionaries in pre-French Madagascar; their importance, particularly in such fields as literacy, did much to give the dominant Merina state an atypical character for a nineteenth-century African political entity.

Events of World War II and the period extending to 1965 are treated satisfactorily, with the whole process of development greatly illuminated by the authors' knowledge of conditions in other French African territories. Attention is given to social, economic, and cultural events in relation to political developments; these are among the most useful sections in the study. The essential weakness of the volume, however, emerges in such sections as that dealing with the 1947 rising. The authors judiciously handle the limited evidence of this difficult and still confused period, but here as elsewhere they offer little insight into the causation of outward events. And their bland unexplained reference to the activities of "fanatical sorcerers" and their "ignorant followers" when discussing the uprising is certainly out of place in modern scholarship on Africa.

Thompson and Adloff perform an important service in presenting this compendium of facts, particularly for those lacking access to the rich French literature. Their volume should provide a useful guide for the needed analytical account of Madagascar's recent evolution.

Boston University NORMAN R. BENNETT

Asia and the East

CHINESE CIVILIZATION AND BUREAUCRACY: VARIATIONS ON A THEME. By *Etienne Balazs.* Translated by *H. M. Wright.* Edited by *Arthur F. Wright.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xix, 309. $8.50.)

THIS volume will stimulate all scholars who seriously look for the clue to China's paradoxical history and for cautions it may offer to political planners of the future. They will find no final answers; Balazs would have been the last to demand

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an unquestioning acceptance of his, or any, hypotheses. But we cannot fail to ponder the arguments of one of the most original and tenaciously explorative minds that have in this century concerned themselves with China's history. Through his impressive articles on T'ang economic history, he was the earliest of Western scholars to focus attention on the economic revolution starting in that dynasty, and he devoted the rest of his life to extending the understanding of this phenomenon through his own research and through encouraging the work of others.

The larger works that Balazs completed were primarily translations and detailed analyses of major Chinese sources. It was chiefly in his shorter papers and articles that he speculated on the implications of the facts and presented his hypotheses on Chinese society. Since these shorter writings appeared in a variety of publications and in several languages, it was difficult to piece their arguments together. The present volume gathers sixteen of the most significant shorter pieces, and H. M. Wright has provided extremely readable translations of those originally in French or German. We are indebted to J. K. Fairbank and A. F. Wright for securing their publication; the latter has also provided a helpful introduction. These pieces, written between 1931 and 1961, afford us a clearer view of Balazs' thought as it progressed. They range in subject from early studies on Fan Chen, Li Kou, and Ts'ao Ts'ao and poetry and philosophy through essays on cities and towns, country fairs, and landholding to nascent Chinese capitalism, the bureaucratic society, and the political aspect of Chinese historiography; they span nearly two thousand years, emphasizing the third through the fourteenth century.

These selections make it apparent that Balazs not only developed his ideas progressively, but also modified them significantly in the course of years. The earlier articles are reticent in judgments and generalizations, but they betray a theme that was to permeate all his later work: a sympathy with the Chinese philosophic iconoclast and a growing distaste for the bureaucracy as a whole. At all times he admired sincerely the achievements of Chinese genius. He recognized the very real degree of opportunity for social rise provided by the examination system. While in earlier articles he occasionally referred to China of the Empire as "feudal," in later studies he explicitly rejected this term and criticized more specifically the factors he felt to have frustrated China's creative energies: overcentralization of authority, promoted in part by geography, and the resultant power-hungry bureaucracy, which instinctively thwarted all nongovernmental initiatives. If his comments on the bureaucracy could be bitter and sometimes tended to oversimplify discrepancies between ideal and action as mere hypocrisy, this leaning was countered by his deep instinct for objectivity. Above all, he saw the crucial questions about Chinese history that needed answers, he focused our attention on the vital issues, and he offered us provocative hypotheses that will help others to carry forward his work.

University of Chicago E. A. Kracke, Jr.

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FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA, 1840–1937. By *Chi-ming Hou.* [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 21.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 306. $8.95.)

THE century before 1937 saw considerable growth of foreign trade and investment in China. In 1936 the total foreign investment in China was $3,483,000,000, of which 35 per cent was British capital, 40 per cent Japanese, and 8.6 per cent American. In this book Professor Hou has given the best and most comprehensive treatment to date of the nature and effects of foreign investment in China. Basing his work on extensive and careful research in the available statistics (including those published in Communist China), the author employs methods of dispassionate economic analysis. The carefully compiled tables, as well as the author's concepts and insights, are valuable to students of modern Chinese history.

Hou confirms the fact that in the century of the unequal treaties wealth was drained out of China by the Western nations and Japan. But this "leak in the goblet" (*lou-chih*) was accounted for chiefly by China's having to contract foreign loans in order to pay indemnities to foreign powers, owing to defeats in war. Up to 1914 the capital inflow into China was only slightly less than its deficit in external trade. The trade deficits increased thereafter, while the growth of foreign investment was achieved more by plowing back profits than by fresh capital from abroad. As the interest and amortization on the previously contracted loans were heavy, there was considerable loss in China's balance of payments.

Hou finds the total foreign economic impact on China to have been more beneficial than harmful, however. Foreign enterprise in China was restricted by low profits and institutional barriers. But its modest fruits—factories, mines, banks, steamships, railways—nevertheless accounted for a large share of the modern sector of the Chinese economy. Moreover, foreign trade and investment performed a catalytic function, stimulating government measures for economic "self-strengthening" and, after 1895, the founding of numerous private Chinese enterprises. Hou demonstrates that the Chinese share of the economy's modern sector was never really "oppressed" by foreign investment, but was able to grow as fast as the foreign firms in the long run. Controverting a widely held notion, he also shows that the foreign manufactures, whether imported or made in China, did not have a harmful effect on the rural handicrafts—thanks mainly to the fact that, given the cheapness of labor, goods could be produced by the traditional technology at a very low unit cost.

While the author's chief contribution is a quantitative analysis of the effects of foreign investment on China, Hou also offers valuable comments on the internal obstacles, political and cultural as well as economic, that prevented more rapid development in China before 1937. This part of the book is labeled by the author "tentative hypotheses." His points are, however, very persuasive, and I, for one, hope that Hou will take up the subject as his next major inquiry.

University of California, Davis KWANG-CHING LIU

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CHINESE INTELLECTUALS AND THE WEST, 1872–1949. By *Y. C. Wang.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 557. $10.00.)

THIS is a basic study of the flow of Chinese students abroad—how many, how selected, where from, where to, for how long, how supported, in what subjects, with what results. Dozens of careers are also summarized as case histories. The voluminous Chinese sources are surveyed and used here for the first time in English on so broad a scale. Dr. Wang opens up a new field. In the process he also analyzes the thought of Yen Fu (curiously without reference to Benjamin Schwartz's *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West* [1964]), Liang Ch'i-chao, Ch'ên Tu-hsiu, and Sun Yat-sen, and he includes a monographic study of the Revolution of 1911 and another of modern Chinese education for good measure.

Wang's conclusions are pessimistic: Chinese education abroad was a failure. After building up an ideal picture of the traditional Confucian moral order, he finds that the liberals trained in the West lacked the moral sense of the old Confucian literati; amoral, materialistic, alienated from the rural masses (as the Confucian gentry had not been), the student generation that returned from the West consequently failed to provide political leadership and let China slide by default into totalitarianism. I think this conclusion is overharsh. Wang's conceptual framework does not adequately distinguish "Westernization" in China from "modernization" as a universal world process. Such a distinction is necessary if one is to compare the influence of returned students with the influence of those who stayed at home and yet participated in China's "modernization." If China is compared with other countries, it will be evident that no modern generation has been much of a success in any country. Wang's approach by way of Westernization traps him, I think, into seeing modern China as too simply a passive field for the play of influences from abroad. Yet in any case his extensive data set the stage for a further development of analytic concepts. I doubt that the broad and multivalued term Westernization will long survive in the analytic process. A valuable bibliography of some 450 items is unfortunately so condensed that it lacks characters, translations of titles, names of many authors and editors, and frequently even dates. In all, this is a challenging, even provocative, work of encyclopedic scope and essential long-term value.

Harvard University JOHN K. FAIRBANK

GOVERNMENT AND LOCAL POWER IN JAPAN, 500 TO 1700: A STUDY BASED ON BIZEN PROVINCE. By *John Whitney Hall.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 446. $12.50.)

Two of the most renowned scholars of political change in early Japan were James Murdoch and Sir George Sansom. Murdoch seemed fascinated, first and foremost, with the strange and ludicrous, and Sansom with the unique and unchanging. Professor John Hall now turns to Japan's political past for pattern and socioeconomic meaning. Using many of the best studies by Japanese historians and exploiting political documents of one important province, he makes the pre-1700 political life of Japan not merely colorful and interesting but more comprehensible.

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As a point of departure, Hall adopts the well-known view that institutional change in Japan has been marked by the sequential rise of three different social systems: the "family" or *uji* (pre-Nara), the aristocratic (Nara and Heian), and the samurai (Kamakura, Ashikaga, and Tokugawa). Then he moves on to fundamental questions about the relationship between these systems, their sources of legitimacy, and the ways by which the various elite groups exercised control over persons and property. From his study of such questions we come to see more clearly that the traditional loyalties of the family system, and the bureaucratic and legal techniques of the aristocratic, continue to affect the character of the later samurai system. We also gain a deeper appreciation of the fact that the imperial family was always the ultimate source of legitimacy for every new regime. But, more importantly, we now understand that methods of land control account for some of the more characteristic features of political life in each period. In short, after sketching a familiar outline, the author fills in details which, because of their temporal and spatial relatedness, reveal more levels of truth about the exercise of political power in premodern Japan. The most valuable portions of the book pertain to "feudalism"—to what Hall calls the samurai "style of government."

This book will undoubtedly stimulate further exploration of early political history. One area that seems especially promising in my opinion is the close and persistent relationship between government and religion. The author states that as late as A.D. 1200 more *shōen* in Bizen were owned by temples and shrines than by samurai, that even in the Ashikaga era (when the samurai system achieved its greatest strength) religious institutions were able to improve their position, and that the staying power of imperial rule was based largely upon the emperor's priestly role. He implies that religious belief and political control, as well as religious institutions (Shinto and Buddhist) and governmental bodies (family, aristocratic, and samurai), reinforced each other. But further study is needed before the Western student of early Japanese history will be able to understand fully the political and religious motivations for those efforts which locked shrines and temples to organs of government.

University of California, Berkeley DELMER M. BROWN

BEFORE AGGRESSION: EUROPEANS PREPARE THE JAPANESE ARMY. By *Ernst L. Presseisen*. [The Association for Asian Studies: Monographs and Papers, Number 21.] (Tucson: University of Arizona Press for the Association. 1965. Pp. viii, 163. $5.00.)

"Hardly anything is more persistent in history," Professor Presseisen notes, "than its legends." With this apt observation he opens his inquiry into the formation of Japan's modern national army in the late nineteenth century. Among the myths and illusions concerning the modernization of Japan during the Meiji period few have persisted so strongly as those relating to the military system devised to replace the feudal army organization of the Tokugawa era. Presseisen may well have laid these fables to rest once and for all.

Presseisen has not ventured into an entirely new realm of research. Other

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scholars, both Japanese and Western, have preceded him in questioning the widespread, simplistic interpretations of Japan's achievement in building a new army from the 1860's on. They have proposed that more was involved than the Meiji oligarchs searching about the Western world for the ideal military model and shrewdly settling upon the German. French influence was long paramount, and various Meiji leaders were not completely convinced of the superiority of German military teachings. Presseisen has not only confirmed these findings, but has also adduced much corroboratory detail. He has, furthermore, raised many new problems and, especially, has extended the prior chronological limits of research.

Presseisen's study suggests that French successes and failures in Japan reflected far more than the play of power politics within the Meiji oligarchy and between French and German rivals for Japanese favor. They also mirrored the very strengths and shortcomings of the French military system itself. The ultimate triumph of German military advisers, notably of Major Jacob Meckel, rested largely upon their superior grasp of the science of warfare and their skill in dealing with their Japanese pupils. In some ways, Presseisen demonstrates, Meckel taught too convincingly. His technique of deploying massed infantry forces in assaults against an enemy commanding the terrible firepower of the improved weapons of the times cost the Japanese Army dearly in the early battles of the Russo-Japanese War.

By delving into previously untouched French and German archival sources, Presseisen has clarified hitherto obscure aspects of the history of Japan's modern national army. He has, moreover, lucidly revealed the wellsprings of the military thought of the French and German advisers who served Meiji Japan. Though he has used Japanese materials, particularly biographies, his main sources are Western-language. His perspective is, therefore, essentially European (or Western) rather than Japanese. His approach, nevertheless, has yielded invaluable results for the understanding of modern military history and the processes of Japanese modernization.

City University of New York HYMAN KUBLIN

RASHĪD AL-DĪN'S HISTORY OF INDIA: COLLECTED ESSAYS WITH FACSIMILES AND INDICES. By *Karl Jahn.* [Central Asiatic Studies, Volume X.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1965. Pp. v–cxiv, 1–153.)

THE monumental "Universal History" of Rashīd al-Dīn, entitled *Jāmiʿ at-Tawārīkh,* is one of the great treasures of Persian historical literature that came down to us from the Il-khan period of the fourteenth century. A French translation of Rashīd al-Dīn's work by E. Quatremère, followed by publications by I. N. Berezin, E. Blochet, E. G. Browne, and others, has drawn attention to the significance of Rashīd al-Dīn's work, but the totality of his writings has remained unpublished.

The scholarly world is therefore greatly indebted to Professor Jahn who turned his interest in recent decades to Rashīd al-Dīn's work and who in a succession of most valuable studies made available portions of the text of the "Universal History," particularly the history of the Il-khan dynasty (1265–1295),

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entitled *Ta' rīḵh i-Mubārak i-Ghāzānī* (1941), and Rashīd al-Dīn's history of the lands and people of Europe, based on the chronicle of Martinus Oppaviensis under the title *History of the Franks* (1951).

Jahn's latest contribution deals with Rashīd al-Dīn's *History of India.* The present volume is not a critical edition; the author has, however, supplied in facsimile three of Rashīd al-Dīn's major manuscripts used in the *History of India:* an Arabic manuscript in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society; a Persian illuminated manuscript of Top Kapī Sarayī, Constantinople; and a Persian text of the British Museum, Number 833.

The texts of these three manuscripts are preceded by an introduction and five essays. These essays, some of which had appeared in widely scattered and rather inaccessible places, are closely related to the subject matter of the manuscripts and offer profound and interesting insight into Rashīd al-Dīn's methodology and approach to his oral and written sources. A general index to the introduction, essays, and facsimile manuscripts greatly facilitates the utilization of this volume.

As in his previous works Jahn has proved again to be the most competent authority in this field; one eagerly awaits his further editions and publications of Rashīd al-Dīn's "Universal History," in particular the text and translation of the *History of the Children of Israel,* on which he is now working.

University of California, Berkeley WALTER J. FISCHEL

NEPAL AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY. By *B. D. Sanwal.* (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1965. Pp. viii, 347. $9.50.)

THE first seven chapters of this book treat the geography, ethnography, and history of Nepal. Thereafter an account is given of the relations between Nepal and the East India Company over a period of approximately ninety years, from 1767 to the Sepoy Mutiny. Two digressive chapters describe the war between Nepal and Tibet in 1792 and the East India Company's relations with Indian States in 1836. The appendixes contain, among other notices, details of the treaties of commerce in 1792 and 1801, the treaty of Segouli in 1815, and the official translation of a document captured by the British from a Nepalese agent.

The account of the Nepal War and the Peace of Segouli give a useful summary of the campaigns and their conclusion, though, as it is based on East India Company material only, it cannot be regarded as definitive. Some letters relating to the conduct of the war have been published in Kathmandu, and there must be more in the Nepal government archives; the author apparently did not consult these important documents. I found the chapters on Jang Bahadur interesting as a pilot study of the great Prime Minister, though I was astonished to see him referred to as an "Indian administrator" and "the first Indian, of a princely rank. . . ."

My general impression of Sanwal's survey of the relations between the two powers is that he has been diligent in searching out the company material, but that his work is nevertheless lacking in depth. It seems to me that he has at-

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tempted to cover too long a period in a comparatively short space; it might have been better if he had concentrated on a few decades. The early years, from Kinloch to Knox, for instance, have already been described in greater detail by K. C. Chaudhuri in *Anglo-Nepalese Relations, From the Earliest Times of the British Rule in India till the Gurkha War* (1960), which Sanwal does not seem to have read.

The most disappointing sections of the book, however, are the chapters on ethnography and early history, for they are not based on the best evidence. The main sources the author has used are Hodgson and Wright, with very occasional references to Sylvain Lévi. He seems unaware of the researches of Baburam Acharya in Nepal and of Tucci, Petech, Von Fürer-Haimendorf, and Snellgrove in Europe, to mention only the most distinguished scholars. He reiterates as established fact the ancient myth of the visit to Nepal of Asoka and his foundation of the stupas at Patan (not Deo Patan, as he states), though as far back as 1951 Baburam Acharya declared that this visit was entirely without historical confirmation. Lévi too had reservations on the subject. The phrase "the Vamsavali" which occurs in several places implies that Wright's *vamśavali* was the sole document of this genre. A reference to Petech (*Medieval History of Nepal*) would dispel such an illusion. Numerous examples could be cited to illustrate the dangers of writing a history of Nepal without consulting the indigenous records and referring to the works of modern scholars. The ethnographic notes, in the course of which reference is made to India Census Reports but not to the Nepal Census of 1952–1954, are open to objection on similar grounds.

University of London T. W. Clark

THOMAS MUNRO AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY IN MADRAS, 1792–1818: THE ORIGINS OF 'THE MUNRO SYSTEM.' By *T. H. Beaglehole*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 183. $7.00.)

With the opening of the nineteenth century the East India Company had clearly emerged as the paramount power in vast areas of the Indian subcontinent. Its armies had humbled ancient dynasties as well as baronial interlopers as tract after tract was annexed to the dominions of the company Bahadur's Raj. But along with territorial expansion came administrative problems, foremost among them being revenue reorganization, affecting age-old rights and customs involving a host of intermediaries between the sircar and the ryot. Lord Cornwallis attempted to solve this problem through his Permanent Settlement, and it was considered to be only a matter of time before the zamindari system would be imposed in the rest of the company's territories.

But some British administrators had different ideas on the subject of revenue settlement. Sir Thomas Munro of Madras was one such official. Before his elevation to the governorship of Madras (1820–1827) Munro worked in the Baramahal, Kanara, and the Ceded Districts for some sixteen years primarily in the field of revenue settlement. This work examines the emergence of the ryotwari system under Munro. Its five chapters lucidly unfold the story of Munro's painstaking

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and persistent efforts in securing a realistic and adequate understanding of revenue systems in the areas under his charge. These efforts were inspired by feelings of paternalism and humanity, a conviction that a contented and prosperous peasantry alone could serve as a secure basis for British rule in India. The Munro system turned out to be as revolutionary as the Bengal system, though in a different way, for it introduced into the rural areas property relations in land of an entirely new order and linked the ryot with the raj in a manner unprecedented in the history of the country. It profoundly altered, if it did not completely destroy, many of the foundations of the traditional institutions on which village life rested in spite of the declared objectives of administrators like Munro that their sole concern was "to restore, to conserve, to continue, rather than to destroy, to innovate or to revolutionise."

The author has treated his subject with great skill and erudition. The book is based on a critical examination of numerous manuscript and printed sources and is a fine piece of scholarship. Its inadequacy seems to be that it is so heavily London-oriented with little scope to reveal what was actually happening to the poor ryot for whose alleged benefit such ponderous efforts were being undertaken. The index is inadequate; the bibliography has missed quite a few titles, especially on the historical aspects of the subject; and the price is atrocious.

Wake Forest College B. G. Gokhale

NINETEENTH CENTURY BENGAL: ASPECTS OF SOCIAL HISTORY. A STUDY IN SOME NEW PRESSURES ON SOCIETY AND IN RELATION BETWEEN TRADITION AND CHANGE. By *Pradip Sinha.* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1965. Pp. viii, 203. Rs. 15.)

Since many attempts have been made to describe the nature of social change in nineteenth-century Bengal, Pradip Sinha begins his study on a somewhat apologetic note. While this is commendable, it is unnecessary, for he has produced an interesting and useful book on the impact of Western values and ideas on Indian intellectual life. Definition of the Bengali intellectual society that mediated between the two forces is not easy, but the groups that Sinha identifies seem to have consisted largely of Brahmans and Kayasths, the castes that participated most successfully in the new economic and administrative structures that emerged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Sinha begins his study with an examination of the effects of the legal system on the traditional patterns of authority in rural areas, using the indigo agitation as a point of departure. This is followed by a discussion of the spread of English education into the interior, and while he does not elaborate on the mechanisms that made this possible, he suggests how complex the response to it was. From this analysis comes an intelligent appraisal of the position of the Bengali Muslim intellectual at mid-century. Sinha's tentative conclusion is that Muslim failure to participate in the benefits that accrued to the upper caste Hindu groups from English education is to be explained largely by a consideration of the linguistic problem. For the Muslims, the abandonment of Arabic and Persian by the government entailed deep psychological sacrifices. There was no redressing the balance, as there

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was for the Hindus, in the creation of a new Bengali literature that would express religious and nationalist aspirations.

Two chapters are concerned with the special characteristics of the interaction of modernity and tradition in the suburbs of the great metropolis and in the more remote provincial towns. These are the least satisfactory parts of the book since the geographical areas dealt with are never concisely defined. But the description of the activities of the Indian government officials who were members of the *Brahmo Samaj* is fascinating. The most interesting materials, as well as the most suggestive hypotheses, are found in the last chapter, "The Bengali Victorians." Sinha ably documents the differences between the temperament of the early reformers, of whom Rammohun Roy is the exemplar, and of the intelligentsia of the 1870's and later.

A variety of useful appendixes of documentary material add to the value of this work of careful scholarship.

Columbia University AINSLIE T. EMBREE

LAND AND CASTE IN SOUTH INDIA: AGRICULTURAL LABOUR IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Dharma Kumar*. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. 211. $8.50.)

THIS volume is in many respects a major addition to the growing body of significant work in the economic history of modern India. Dr. Kumar demonstrates detailed and judicious use of source materials on categories of agricultural labor in nineteenth-century Madras and on those facets of the agrarian economy that bore upon conditions and trends in agricultural labor. Her study is enriched by excellent tables of data, statistical series, and graphic tabular presentations of trends in items such as real wages, prices, crops, croplands, and population. Her approach is that of the able and sophisticated economist. Kumar has, moreover, made effective use of economic theory in formulating relevant questions for which she has then sought empirical evidence.

The first part of the book concentrates on the agrarian system, the role of agricultural labor, and the tendencies of British land policy for labor and for tenures. For most readers, this will be the most valuable part of the book. Part Two consists primarily of refined and elaborate statistical inquiries into the quality and the utility of data on wages, emigration, land use, and population. This portion will appeal to economists and to specialists in problems of land and labor, but it tends to overwhelm the nonspecialist. Nevertheless, this is the kind of utilization of data that is required for the building of valid generalizations. Her inquiry is, therefore, essential to the advancement of knowledge. This is doubly true because she has managed to put a welter of pieces of information into an evaluated and soundly organized treatment.

There are, however, two aspects of Kumar's valuable book that disturb me. The first is of relatively minor import and may bespeak no more than difference in temperament. I refer to the fact that Kumar seems to feel a considerable need

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to qualify her data, so much so that she gives the impression that no generalizations dare be drawn. I suspect one can be too cautious in this respect.

The second aspect would seem less pardonable. In the book Kumar has rightly questioned certain generally accepted notions about the Indian agrarian system and the role of agricultural labor. Some of the propositions she challenges are of considerable significance for our interpretation of Indian society and of the British impact. Having raised questions about these popular assumptions, however, she draws back almost entirely from any effort to suggest answers. Apparently she is dubious about the assumptions in question, but she is unwilling to say so. Even more, she will not risk answering the questions she has raised. The result is a book with a curious, almost unfinished quality about it, as though part of the last chapter had by accident been left out at the bindery.

Duke University ROBERT I. CRANE

SVĀMĪ VIVEKĀNANDA: A HISTORICAL REVIEW. By *R. C. Majumdar.* (Calcutta: General Printers & Publishers Private. 1965. Pp. vii, 182.)

NARENDRANATH Datta (1863–1902), son of a prosperous Bengali solicitor and himself a graduate of Calcutta University, became a devotee of the mystic Ramakrishna, and at the age of twenty-four renounced the world to join a new order of Hindu monks. In 1893 under his monastic name, Vivekananda, he participated in the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, and the attention he attracted there and in his subsequent lecture tours of America and England assured him of a national audience when he returned to India four years later. Landing in Ceylon he made a triumphal tour the length of the Indian subcontinent, delivering rousing speeches on the role of religion in the national revival. He only lived another five years, but, on the testimony of his contemporaries, his teaching was an inspiration to a whole generation of his countrymen.

Vivekananda's speeches and writings are readily available in numerous editions in various languages, and his disciples have added a large body of devotional literature, but there is no satisfactory study of the man as a historical figure. R. C. Majumdar makes this the purpose of his book—"to delineate Vivekānanda as he appeared before the public, and trace the nature and development of his personality in its proper historical setting"—but he has failed lamentably. The present work is based on a series of centenary memorial lectures at Patna University, and it is simply an anthology of Vivekananda's sayings and the anecdotes of his intimates strung together with a catalogue of his saintly virtues. Where judgments are essayed, they are mostly sweeping overgeneralizations.

Indian history has been plagued by uncritical writing, and it is disappointing to see a scholar of Majumdar's eminence producing such slipshod work. His present book merits review in the *AHR* only because it draws attention to the need for a serious study of this influential nineteenth-century figure.

University of Michigan J. H. BROOMFIELD

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BUDDHIST BACKGROUNDS OF THE BURMESE REVOLUTION. By *E. Sarkisyanz*. Preface by *Paul Mus*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1965. Pp. xxix, 248. Glds. 28.50.)

PROFESSOR Sarkisyanz has examined the political implications of Burmese intellectual history as it relates to the adaptation of prescientific, nonmundane Theravada Buddhism to the fashioning of a modern socialistic welfare state. The problem is peculiarly difficult in traditionally xenophobic Burma, where neglect under colonial rule left religious standards in disarray and where national identity and survival appear to require a blending of old and new. The rejection of "capitalism-imperialism" by Burma's postwar elite and the resultant vogue of Marxism was buttressed by nationalist opposition to alien economic exploitation. On the other hand, the materialistic Marxian explanation of the historical process ran directly counter to orthodox Buddhist norms, which deprecate material concerns and even deny the reality of selfhood. The author's performance is, on the whole, impressively erudite, but occasionally he becomes involved both intellectually and emotionally at the expense of scholarly detachment. He largely ignores the extensive dimension of Burmese animistic thought, which plays an important role in the *Volkgeist*.

Rationalizations are both tortuous and wonderfully adaptable. Burmese cosmology pictures an originally perfect society, republican and egalitarian, which finds its modern counterpart in the sacred monastic community. Amelioration of degenerated social conditions is associated with a kingly ideal based on the Ashokan pattern coupled with the Bodhisattva (Emergent Buddha) tradition. Some postwar Marxists idealize Burma under the kings as "the happiest country in the world," whereas historically Burmese kingship was identified as one of five major evils to be endured. A successful king glorified Buddhism by costly monuments, while dynastic collapse exemplified the impermanence of material things. Traditional royal monopolies over trade, lands, and treasure, plus kingly responsibility for ensuring the productivity (via plowing and fertility rites) essential for popular support of the monastic order, suggest to Marxist apologists the appropriateness of state direction of economic development along socialist patterns. Material prosperity can allegedly serve to reduce the selfish craving for material things, which Buddhism decries as the cause of human suffering. The modern lay Buddhist ethos has emerged as a "scientific religion," including valid ethical and social insights from the faith while excluding spurious Hindu cosmology and mythological remnants of the divine kingship tradition.

Apart from his perceptive analysis of postwar psychology, the author contributes little to Burma's history. Treatment of the colonial period in particular reflects the author's entanglement with deep-seated Burmese prejudices. But much of value emerges in this book.

Ohio University JOHN F. CADY

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RELIGION AND POLITICS IN BURMA. By *Donald Eugene Smith.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 350. $7.50.)

For many centuries Burma has been a strong Buddhist country in Southeast Asia. It was not until after the nation gained its independence in January 1948 that there was a more zealous promotion by the state of the interests of the Buddhist faith among its citizens. Among the various reasons why the Burmese government became deeply involved in religious affairs, two are relevant to politics: under British control Buddhism suffered a decline, and a revival of Buddhism is considered by many Burmese officials as a most effective way to counteract Communist ideology.

The present volume analyzes and describes the interaction of religion and politics in Burma during the past sixteen years. Smith feels that Burma is unique in South and Southeast Asia because of the dramatic religio-political development from a secular state to the adoption of a state religion. He thinks that in no other country of the region has the mixing of religion and politics demonstrated so clearly both the usefulness and the limitations of religion in relation to the legitimacy of the political system, effective political leadership, national integration, economic development, and the democratic process. He also shows that Burma has reverted to secular politics under an authoritarian military regime that has rejected religion as a source of legitimacy.

The present study provides answers to several important questions: Can religion, a vital source of political legitimacy for traditional Burmese kingship, provide equally effective support for current democratic regimes? In the attempt to solve the problems of political legitimacy and national identity through religion, what happens to the religious minorities and national unity? What will be the long-range effect of Buddhist revival on the crucial task of economic development? While the writer considers the attempts of the strong Buddhist country of Burma to relate its religious faith to the ideologies of democracy and socialism, one question still remains: can Buddhism be reconciled with Communism, and to what extent can Buddhism provide a positive ideological defense against Communism?

A central figure in the account of the interrelation between religion and politics in Burma is former Premier U Nu, a deeply religious man and an astute politician. His strong influence brought about both the convening of the Sixth Great Buddhist Council held in Rangoon in 1954 and his announcement that Buddhism would definitely be made a state religion if his political party won the 1960 election. The current military government of General Ne Win has adopted policies that are definitely unfriendly to the prestige and power of the Buddhist poonghies.

Library of Congress Cecil Hobbs

THE PHILIPPINES. By *Onofre D. Corpuz.* [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. viii, 149. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.95.)

In the modern Philippines the two greatest national enterprises are education and

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politics. In selecting O. D. Corpuz to write on the Philippines, the editor of the "Modern Nations" series has chosen well, for the author is a political scientist who has recently been appointed Undersecretary of Education. Deeply engaged in problems of national development, he writes about them with a familiarity that commands attention and a firmness that persuades.

In such a book as this, the existential foreground is bound to overshadow the historical background. But Corpuz makes sure that the past is nicely served, and never enslaved to the present. Fresh research into the Spanish period has enriched and enlivened his discussion of the cultural accommodations of that era. He goes on to show in what ways the American era was a continuation of pre-existing patterns, as well as a modification of them. In a particularly absorbing discussion of the present "transitional society," Corpuz describes the ways in which indigenous value systems struggle with imported systems. The tension in the Philippines between tradition and modernization affects government and family, law and ethics, business and worship; but if different tendencies coexist competitively, they do so peacefully.

In so far as Corpuz has summed up the Philippine genius in these pages, one could call that genius "pragmatic cultural compromise." The great national achievements have been to Filipinize both Spanish Catholicism and American republicanism through a moderate and realistic process of selection and adjustment. But, as Corpuz emphasizes, the national genius is in danger of becoming national dementia. The Filipinos cannot for long continue to treat national life as a market place in which the elite do the bargaining, or as a forum in which the masses enjoy a largely rhetorical discussion. Social and demographic changes are rapid and relentless. A population increasing at 3.06 per cent per year will reach 55,000,000 by 1980. Before then the Philippines will require decision and action for the general welfare: profound decision and prolonged action.

This is a balanced and reflective book, and, in its own thoughtful way an urgent one. It is tantalizingly brief, but satisfyingly sharp. Few books have something to say to undergraduates, to serious laymen, and to professional specialists. This book, with its broad range of learning and its sensitivity to reforming, should serve not just one of those audiences, but all three.

State University of New York, Buffalo THEODORE FRIEND

LA AUSTRALIA DEL ESPÍRITU SANTO: THE JOURNAL OF FRAY MARTÍN DE MUNILLA O.F.M. AND OTHER DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE VOYAGE OF PEDRO FERNÁNDEZ DE QUIRÓS TO THE SOUTH SEA (1605–1606) AND THE FRANCISCAN MISSIONARY PLAN (1617–1627). In two volumes. Translated and edited by *Celsus Kelly O.F.M.* With ethnological introduction, appendix, and other contributions by *G. S. Parsonson.* [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Numbers 126 and 127.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1966. Pp. xvii, 270; xv, 273–446. $15.00 the set.)

WITH the transition of the world's political center of gravity to the Pacific Ocean, interest in the exploration and occupation of that area has increased. One of the

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early Spanish explorers of the South Sea was Pedro Fernández de Quirós, who penetrated the area around the New Hebrides in 1605–1606, with three small ships and ninety-two men. Ten years earlier he had served as chief pilot on the ill-fated Mendaña expedition to the Solomon Islands. Quirós sailed from Callao on December 21, 1605, through the Tuamotu Archipelago to La Australia del Espíritu Santo in the New Hebrides. He returned to the mainland at Acapulco on November 23, 1606, to complete the voyage.

Father Celsus Kelly presents in these two volumes a collection of thirty-two documents relating to the Quirós voyage. The principal one is the *Relación* of Fray Martín de Munilla, who served as commissary of the six Franciscans accompanying the expedition. Munilla was already at an advanced age and died just before the voyage terminated. His account is particularly interesting for the information it provides on the daily events of the voyage and the natives with whom the Spaniards came in contact. The other documents are related to the negotiations of Quirós with the Spanish crown and supplemental reports of the expedition.

The translation and editing of the documents are praiseworthy accomplishments. The introduction relates the collection of documents to previously published material. It provides the expedition with a good historical setting in relation to previous routes and discoveries, religious objectives, the controversies that inevitably arose, and the ethnography and aboriginal customs of the area. There are also an excellent bibliography and maps of the routes followed and Espíritu Santo Island, together with an appendix that includes a list of the crewmen of the three vessels.

Rollins College RHEA MARSH SMITH

THE CONVICT SETTLERS OF AUSTRALIA: AN ENQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF THE CONVICTS TRANSPORTED TO NEW SOUTH WALES AND VAN DIEMEN'S LAND 1787–1852. By *L. L. Robson.* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press; distrib. by Cambridge University Press, New York. 1965. Pp. xi, 257. $9.50.)

THE author attempts to answer two questions: "what sort of people were the convicts transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and what sort of lives did they lead in Australia?" The result is the first really systematic investigation of the convicts' origins. Dr. Robson utilizes a technique of statistical analysis by taking as a sample every twentieth name from the Home Office convict lists. Results are recorded in tabular form in the various appendixes and are supported by textual comment. The convict total transported between 1787 and 1852 was 122,620 men and 24,960 women. (Robson excludes Western Australia, Moreton Bay, and Norfolk Island, but gives his grand total for Australia, 1787–1868, as 163,121.)

The text is full of facts and figures, but Robson's conclusions do not differ much from those of Manning Clark and A. G. L. Shaw who regarded the convict as a miserable and hardened creature. We learn that mortality was extremely low on shipboard and that there is no foundation for the supposition that

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inhuman treatment by crews caused many deaths on the convict ships. The types of offenses for which men were transported are carefully listed. Other statistics show that a relatively large number of convicts were under twenty, whereas the full variation was from seventy to eight! Only 20 per cent of the women were convicted as prostitutes, but their number was actually higher as many were arrested for other crimes such as stealing.

Robson's conclusions are tentative at times, and he has some problems: There is less statistical material to use for the convict life in New South Wales than there is for Van Diemen's Land. He muddles some of his categories by not always separating British from Irish prisoners and by not distinguishing between those sentenced early (1787–1815) and later, for example, in the 1840's when the criminal law was vastly different. The style is clear, but the narrative is dull. In the earlier period much of the necessary information was not in the indents. It will be interesting to compare his conclusions with the long-awaited book on the same subject by Professor A. G. L. Shaw.

University of California, Irvine SAMUEL CLYDE MCCULLOCH

BACK OF BOURKE: A STUDY OF LAND APPRAISAL AND SETTLEMENT IN SEMI-ARID AUSTRALIA. By *R. L. Heathcote.* ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; distrib. by Cambridge University Press, New York. 1965. Pp. xv, 244. $10.50.)

THIS study deals with the settlement and pastoral development of the Warrego country, a vast, semiarid region in the interior of Eastern Australia straddling the borders of New South Wales and Queensland. The text proper occupies less than 170 pages and is supplemented by 24 pages of maps and figures, a glossary of descriptive terms, a statistical appendix, a bibliography, and an index. In Part 1 the author compares the popular and official concepts of the interior plains from 1813 to 1956, then discusses the methods and problems of determining land values in these semiarid areas. The second half of the book deals with four phases in the development of the Warrego country—pioneering, consolidating, struggling, and settling—and covers the period 1828–1956. There is a brief summary conclusion dealing with Western man and the semiarid plains.

Based on a wide range of archival and manuscript materials, this study in historical geography is crammed with useful data and ideas on a wide range of topics. The discussions of droughts, the number of sheep that the land could maintain, and land policy are particularly interesting. Over-all, however, the study is disappointing. The author is preoccupied with his sources (or sometimes the lack of them), and the whole is fragmented into a series of disjointed topics, subtopics, sub-subtopics, and extracted quotations. What the reader wants, but does not get, is a flowing analysis, an analysis that grows out of the author's control and synthesis of his raw materials. The notes are at the foot of the page, but most of them are meaningless except in conjunction with the bibliography. The price is preposterous.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin PETER J. COLEMAN

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THE RALLYING POINT: MY STORY OF THE NEW GUARD. By *Eric Campbell.* ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 184. $7.00.)

FASCISM in the English-speaking democracies often does not recognize itself. Such was the movement known as the New Guard in Australia. During the depression years, 1931–1934, in New South Wales, a swing to the Left took place under Labor Premier J. T. Lang. This significant report on a Right-wing countermovement is by its leader, who has communicated more about himself and his group than he intended. Eric Campbell was an actionist, not an intellectual, and he had had a hand in the abortive anti-Labor "Walsh-Johnson Force" of 1925. The New Guard was a paramilitary group, its core being about twenty thousand and its well-wishers probably three times that many in New South Wales.

The New Guard was impressively organized, mobile, and tightly knit, but dim on doctrine. Dedicated to loyalty to the British Empire, and to resisting Communism and immorality in Australian life, the New Guard were, for the most part, worthy but restless former soldiers, some from labor but more from the middle class. They resembled the movement described in D. H. Lawrence's *Kangaroo.* The chief commander appears as a brisk, eupeptic man, with faith in the instinctive rightness of a former soldier's opinion. He had been stimulated by his service in World War I and felt invigorated in 1931 by the reappearance of military organizations and the possibility of violence. The roughing up of the "Commos" he found "amusing," and he similarly described the discovery that many of his New Guards carried concealed firearms. The premature "opening" of the Sydney Harbor Bridge by a mounted New Guard (pure Marx Brothers) he treats as a national event.

The New Guard was prepared, Colonel Campbell states, to use force to prevent socialization, even if the voters supported socialism. Campbell was ready to restrain the outnumbered police if they were "disloyal" enough to enforce Premier Lang's socialization plans. The basic contradiction in the use of extralegal force to protect constitutional law and order did not distress him.

He visited Italy and Germany during this period and was deeply impressed, but declared himself loyal to British principles. Oswald Mosely he found to be "a fine cut of a man," but he rejected the British Fascists as too foreign in their ways. If the balloon had gone up, one wonders what the New Guard would have done after winning the street fighting. The organization broke up in 1934–1935 after the defeat of the Lang government. Its members probably never felt themselves to have been close to treason.

Colgate University CHARLES S. BLACKTON

Americas

THE NATIONAL UNION CATALOG OF MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS, 1963–1964. Compiled by the Library of Congress from reports provided by American Repositories with assistance from the Council on Library

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Resources, Inc. [The Library of Congress Catalogs.] (Washington, D. C.: the Library. 1965. Pp. xv, 500. $10.00.)

THE publication of this third volume of the *Catalog* is a testament to the wisdom of the Council on Library Resources, which provided financial support to launch the series. The first two volumes (the second having included a separately bound, cumulative index) bore commercial imprints. This one comes directly from the Library of Congress, reflecting the appropriated funds now supporting the project. Congress, as well as the Council on Library Resources, deserves the thanks of historians for seeing that this highly important program receives adequate financing. Now that the task is so well under way, Congress must not falter in its continued support.

This volume covers the 2,050 manuscript collections reported by 98 repositories during 1963 and 1964. The total project now lists 14,374 collections from 425 institutions. Lest any historian, archivist, or manuscripts curator feel complacent over these statistics, it should be stressed that this guide has only scratched the surface. It has made an admirable beginning, and the information presented thus far is quite valuable. In the latest volume the index is in one alphabet and contains names of persons, places, and subjects. The subject entries are sufficiently detailed to guide users to pertinent collections.

The very fact that the *Catalog* is designed as a continuing publication nullifies the criticism invariably directed against finding aids: that they are out of date when they appear. For those institutions reporting fully, the printed descriptions of their collections constitute a current guide. In many cases repositories feel that their listings in this *Catalog* obviate the need for and expense of a separate guide.

In the *Catalog* we have the vehicle for full bibliographic control over manuscripts in the United States. Since historical scholarship is a cooperative venture between custodians of original sources and researchers, every step must be taken to make the cooperation as fruitful as possible. This means that historians should encourage repositories with which they have any connection to report their holdings. If the repositories do not have necessary funds to prepare the reports, historians should do what they can to see that money is provided. The participation and continuing cooperation of every manuscript repository in the country are necessary to make this series the bibliographic aid it is intended to be.

National Historical Publications Commission WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS AND AMERICAN HISTORIANSHIP. By *Jennings B. Sanders.* ([Yellow Springs, Ohio:] Antioch Press. 1966. Pp. 138. $4.00.)

WITHIN an amazingly crowded one-hundred-page brochure, Dr. Sanders has compressed most of the leading issues of historiography, possibly for undergraduate classroom use. He states his sweeping intention "to examine what historians, philosophers, and other scholars have said about the nature, meaning, and purpose of history; to analyze the current status of historianship, with special reference to the craft in the United States; and to venture an interpretation of American his-

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tory." Although he disclaims any attempt to discuss the background of history writing, he devotes a few pages to thumbnail sketches of influential historians since early times. While some of the illustrations are delightfully fresh, most of the observations and theories are well known to professionals.

Few will object to Sanders' common-sense cautions to young historians regarding dubious "laws of history" and his comment that "man is destined to control his fate with something less than scientific precision." He reviews very briefly the various leading interpretations of history. In this necessarily abbreviated manner, he presents the pros and cons of historicism, relativism, presentism, causality, and the role of morals, stating, on the whole, the position of most practicing historians. He points out the pitfalls of hasty moralizing into which even distinguished historians have fallen.

While sympathetic to the New History and the interdisciplinary approach, Sanders fears that the historian will attempt too much and bog down in superficiality. Yet he advocates the mastery of psychoanalysis as a key to such biographic studies as the Adamses, and he fears that history has already lost too much to other disciplines. Above all, historians must not surrender the art of generalization to philosophers.

The book goes on to larger issues: research versus teaching, the effect of adverse reviews upon timid scholars, and the various individualistic traits that make up the American character. He concludes that the unifying theme of American history lies in our ever-enlarging rights of man marked by increasing educational opportunities for all (but Indians and Negroes) and other gains. While the frustrating brevity of the discussions will annoy some, others will appreciate its comprehensiveness and utility when consulted together with fuller studies. It will provide a useful introduction for college students and others to the nature of history.

Western Reserve University HARVEY WISH

HISTORIANS AGAINST HISTORY: THE FRONTIER THESIS AND THE NATIONAL COVENANT IN AMERICAN HISTORICAL WRITING SINCE 1830. By *David W. Noble.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1965. Pp. 197. $5.00.)

ANOTHER paradox! David Noble—who in his first book, *The Paradox of Progressive Thought,* demonstrated that leading progressives did not really believe in progress, and in a recent article argued that James Fenimore Cooper, chief romantic exponent of the virtues of nature, actually portrayed nature as the enemy of civilization and denial of hope—now gives us a group of historians who are "against history." These historians are Bancroft, Turner, Becker, Parrington, Beard, and Boorstin, whose common bond is a passionate concern about the problems of their times, which drove them all to historical writing and affected all the history that they wrote.

Noble contends that they also share the role of defender of the faith, protector of the national covenant. In ten well-argued essays he examines the published work of each historian, explaining how they performed the role. The cove-

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nant consists of the faith that Americans were God's new chosen people, living in a natural utopia, protected by God from the corrosive forces of history so long as they maintained society free from any taint of the complexity—ideology, tradition, or institutions—that characterized European civilization. Each historian in his time played the role of the Biblical prophet Jeremiah, warning against submitting to present threats to America's innocence. Turner pointed to the disappearance of the land frontier and Beard to the effects of increasing involvement with Europe, while Parrington warned against centralization of power and Boorstin against misguided intellectuals.

This is not a traditional historiographical essay but an intellectual history in which historians play a crucial role. It is a continuation of Noble's searching internal analysis of the thought and assumptions of spokesmen of America's liberal tradition. It is a difficult book to read, partly because lengthy quotations and literary parallels often obscure the tight thread of argument, and partly because the tough-minded judgments, however healthy, are bitter medicine to swallow. Becker is clearly the author's hero and the only historian who emerges with a vision altered but undimmed. Boorstin, whose work is yet to be completed, is left with the most awesome burden since he is the latest to accept the responsibility of defending the national covenant. His argument is that Americans have never broken that covenant; it is only misled intellectuals, such as Beard, Parrington, and others who have thought so. He is now engaged in writing "a great synthesis of national history," proving that modern urban industrial complexity is not contrary to the national covenant, that Americans have indeed developed institutions and traditions, but unlike Europeans are not slaves to this heritage—are not, therefore, trapped in history. A new civilization was created in America by a people free to use and adapt institutions and traditions as necessary in repeated pragmatic responses to nature. Noble, however, points out that Boorstin seems to have lost confidence in the efficacy of popular pragmatism midway in his epic.

We must wait until Boorstin reaches the twentieth century to find out whether he is able to resolve his dilemma, or whether Noble is right in saying that "our nation's traditional vision . . . has reached an idealogical impasse." To echo the words of Gilbert and Sullivan's pirate chorus, it is "a paradox, a most ingenious paradox," and certainly this is an important, challenging book.

University of Texas DAVID D. VAN TASSEL

RELIGION IN AMERICA. By *Winthrop S. Hudson*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1965. Pp. xii, 447. $3.95.)

IN this well-informed and tightly organized book Professor Hudson has attempted "to depict the religious life of the American people in interaction with other dimensions of their experience, and to depict the unity American religious life exhibits as well as its particularities." The result is the most comprehensive and perhaps the best-balanced summary of American religious history we have. *Religion in America* is, however, much less than the great synthesis for which we have been waiting, and a less interesting book than we might have expected from its author.

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In his *The Great Tradition of the American Churches* (1963) Hudson gave us a masterly interpretation of the voluntaristic and denominational mainstream of American Protestantism—a subject on which he speaks as a devoted but critical insider. Here he incorporates many of his earlier insights, but extends his coverage to include Judaism, Roman Catholicism, the immigrant and Negro churches, and the Holiness and fundamentalist movements. For comprehensiveness and compression, interpretive drive is sacrificed.

The book is divided into four approximately equal chronological sections, and, within these, the chapter organization usually subordinates movements and denominations to periods. This scheme works well for some subjects. Occasionally, however, the organization is strained.

Though neutrality and with it a certain flatness characterize long sections of the book, the author is fortunately unable to refrain altogether from interpretive comment, and his organization and emphasis reflect his assessments. Though no individual gets much space, Charles Grandison Finney and Dwight L. Moody are treated better and more fully than Jonathan Edwards. Paul Tillich gets two sentences to Billy Graham's page and a half. Overt generalization is rare, and yet the book seems clearly to imply that the center of American religious history lies in an untheological, expanding, optimistic missionary enterprise, bordered on one side by rationalism and social reform and on the other by revivalism, linked always to a conception of national destiny. This is certainly a legitimate and even impressive interpretation of the subject. It would be more convincingly presented, however, if other possible interpretations were contrasted with it, and, above all, if the whole immense subject were placed against a still larger background, religious or secular. Perhaps the book's comprehensiveness makes it impossible to relate American religion to the Judaeo-Christian past or the European present. The "other dimensions" with which American religious life interacts are all social ones: the westward movement, the rise of the city, and immigration are briefly sketched in. Intellectual history, on the other hand, is hardly even sketched. A half page suffices for transcendentalism, a paragraph for the triumph of Darwinism, and in treating the twenties the author links Dewey and Freud as somehow contributing to "the new hedonism."

Dewey and Freud—perhaps even Edwards and Emerson—are peripheral to the author's major purpose. No student of the organization of American religious experience would fail to learn something from reading this book, and students on many levels will find it useful for reference. In order to feel the excitement or acquire the full meaning of the subject, however, one will continue to turn first to less comprehensive treatments—among them books by Richard Niebuhr, Sidney Mead, and Hudson himself.

University of California, Berkeley HENRY F. MAY

THE POLITE AMERICANS: A WIDE-ANGLE VIEW OF OUR MORE OR LESS GOOD MANNERS OVER 300 YEARS. By *Gerald Carson*. (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1966. Pp. xvi, 346. $6.50.)

GERALD Carson offers what he characterizes as "a bird's-eye view of the folkways,

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conventions and inherited ideas governing civilized behavior which have been followed—or flouted—among the English-speaking inhabitants of the United States." Ranging from the earliest colonial times to the present day, the book is centered about half on the manners and customs of the nineteenth century, with the remainder about equally divided between the earlier and later periods. The author discusses such topics as social mobility, the art of success, the place and activities of women and children, home entertainment, etiquette books, clubs and organizations, and business and political mores. Private as well as public behavior is dealt with. Here, then, is a popular history of American manners, a "sampling of a richly varied social legacy."

Certainly Carson has explored an impressive array of primary and secondary source materials, but the final product for the serious student of American social history is disappointingly thin. At his amusing best on such subjects as fashions in beards, piano playing, and Victorian prudery, the author is weakest in getting beneath the descriptions and the anecdotes to explain the "why" of things. By and large the reader is left to wonder just what the meaning or cultural function of the particular behavioral characteristics has actually been. Just what, as one example, has been the meaning of "society" columns for newspaper readers over the years? The book seems especially inadequate on the relation of formal education and of changing family structure to manners and mores. Carson has not brought significant new insights to the study of American manners; the book does not supersede such standard works as those by Cleveland Amory, A. M. Schlesinger, Louis Kronenberger, Dixon Wecter, or even Vance Packard.

Although Carson on the whole writes with wit and grace, his work is frequently marred by a presentation that rambles haphazardly from one subject to another. The chronological treatment of topics is sometimes hazy, leading to a blurring of the themes of the major sections of the book. Throughout many of the chapters, moreover, sectional, class, and occupational differences of behavior are left indistinct and unexplained. Though sketched in a generally lively and entertaining way, this "wide-angle" portrait does little to enlarge our understanding of the polite Americans.

New York University PAUL R. BAKER

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY: LEADERSHIP, PARTISANSHIP, AND POPULARITY. By *Stuart Gerry Brown*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1966. Pp. viii, 279. Cloth $5.95, paper $2.50.)

THIS is a historical exploration of the convertibility of presidential popularity into presidential power. Chief executives such as Dwight Eisenhower have been condemned for failing to translate their wide personal backing into effective legislative and executive support for controversial programs. Professor Brown suggests that the conversion may not be that easy: "Popular Presidents cannot be expected to use their popularity to achieve objectives contrary to what they are popular for. . . . [T]he practical usefulness of a President's popularity as a means to leadership seems to vary in proportion to its relevance to the purposes for which it might be used."

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The author is especially interested in the relative effectiveness of presidential partisanship and nonpartisanship in managing both domestic and foreign affairs. Skillfully marshaling his evidence, he finds that neither tactic is necessarily effective; everything depends on the political situation and terrain. Still, he has a sneaking admiration for the more partisan Presidents like Jefferson and Jackson. He feels that Kennedy was too cautiously partisan and has mixed feelings about Lyndon Johnson and his consensus. And he virtually destroys the old stereotype that effective foreign policy making must be nonpartisan and that politics can or should "stop at the water's edge." On balance, he concludes, the more partisan Presidents are more likely to be effective in foreign policy making.

While this volume may fracture some old clichés about presidential partisanship, the dynamics of political power flow from so many variables that we are not very far advanced toward a systematic theory of presidential power. But Brown has drawn major insights from this series of historical episodes. An unusually able narrator, he has also shown how detailed case studies can be fascinating reading in themselves while presenting information on major theoretical problems.

Williams College JAMES MACGREGOR BURNS

THE RAILROAD AND THE SPACE PROGRAM: AN EXPLORATION IN HISTORICAL ANALOGY. Edited by *Bruce Mazlish*. [Technology, Space, and Society.] (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1965. Pp. xix, 223. $7.50.)

THIS volume tries to anticipate, through historical analogy, the possible effects of the current space program upon contemporary American society. In eight wide-ranging essays a variety of authors review the railroad in the nineteenth century as a "device of anticipation" to suggest certain speculations concerning the mammoth space program of the mid-twentieth century. In a long introductory essay Bruce Mazlish examines the problems inherent in such an analogy. In turn Thomas P. Hughes, Robert W. Fogel, Paul H. Cootner, Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., Stephen Salsbury, Thomas C. Cochran, Robert L. Brandfon, and Leo Marx present the technological, economic, managerial, social, political, and imaginative aspects of these two rather different "social inventions." Without exception the authors give their greater attention to an examination of the railroad as it transformed a simple rural America into a complex, industrial, urban society. Frequently an essay's concluding paragraphs, almost as an afterthought, endeavor to relate the iron horse to today's forty-billion-dollar space effort. This is not too surprising since the authors are better known for their nineteenth-century railroad history than for any substantial work on the contemporary history of the space age.

The best studies are those by Chandler, Salsbury, Cochran, and Marx. In their joint essay on the railroads as innovators in business administration Chandler and Salsbury go into some detail in showing that railroad development was quite influential in creating modern devices of industrial management. In reviewing the social impact of early railroads Cochran notes a number of significant demographic and institutional effects caused by the new form of transportation. The last essay in the volume is an interesting and sensitive study by Marx concerning

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the impact of the railroad on the American imagination. He views the early railroad as a "triumphant machine" intruding upon an essentially pastoral American landscape. There is much more in all the essays for the railroad historian than for the scientist or space administrator. The exploratory nature of *The Railroad and the Space Program,* nevertheless, make this a thought-provoking and intriguing book.

Purdue University JOHN F. STOVER

THE PARANOID STYLE IN AMERICAN POLITICS AND OTHER ESSAYS. By *Richard Hofstadter.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1965. Pp. xiv, 314, xii. $5.95.)

FOR fifteen years Richard Hofstadter has been a prominent exemplar of the study of status politics, of using sociological findings in intellectual and general history, and of venturing psychological generalizations in interpreting the American experience. Here he republishes with some revision seven essays, two from the early 1950's, and the others from 1963, 1964, and 1965. Four, which he groups as "Studies in the American Right," responded to either the McCarthy or the Goldwater movement; the others concern problems of reform or expansion, which became acute in the 1890's and which supply the author with further opportunity for the interpretations he is pursuing.

The hinge of the book is not the title essay (the first), but the second, "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt," which is justly famous. Hofstadter wrote it as a lecture in the McCarthy year, 1954; it was soon published in *The New American Right,* a book of essays that associated him with like-minded scholars. But, as he points out in the present preface, complete consistency is not to be expected in such political findings as these, offered seriatim during years of crisis. Besides convenience, what justifies bringing the essays together is their special point of view—one from which a stalwart has stated and restated concern about the condition of the republic.

Particularizing first about the second series of essays, neither of the longest pieces in the book, "Free Silver and the Mind of 'Coin' Harvey" and "What Happened to the Anti-Trust Movement?" needs detain us. The one reminds us of the optimism of a famous delusion of the 1890's, with only a certain amount of the epoch's terror of being persecuted; the other supplies the most cheerful finding in the book: that a movement that began in excitement has quieted down during the past generation into workaday practicality. The essay on imperialism, "Cuba, the Philippines, and Manifest Destiny," which was published first in 1952, of course takes us well within the area of Hofstadter's psychological interpreting. Although in the present revision he moderates his original explanation of the overseas ventures of 1898, and he has never diagnosed paranoia in that connection, he still offers a "psychic crisis" to help interpret expansionism of the industrial age.

The question of how far such interpretation carries is the critical problem of the title essay and the second essay, and, to a degree, of the book as a whole. Many Americans from time to time, and during the 1890's especially, have entertained delusions of national grandeur; delusions of personal grandeur are one of the two

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main symptoms of paranoia. Hofstadter has more to say about delusions of persecution, the other symptom; the title essay traces a series from Jedidiah Morse to Robert H. Welch, Jr. Yet that very essay skips the Civil War, as though the greatest of all crises of national identity offered no relevant testimony on the matter of delusions. Throughout Hofstadter disregards the clinical fact that the two types of delusion are often tightly connected: the paranoid personality, however psychotic, is likely to be so solidly integrated as to defy healing. According to the author's own evidence, the politics that he calls by analogy paranoid have been discontinuous and rather at the fringe than at the center of the national experience.

Yet the radical Right has twice recently moved startlingly inward. One may think Hofstadter mistaken in saying—figuratively to be sure, but with practical intention to restrain—that this marks a stage, or at least a symptom, of political insanity. But one may think also that his political knowledge and his concern for the good of the people are eloquent, right, and persuasive.

Johns Hopkins University CHARLES A. BARKER

PUEBLO WARRIORS & SPANISH CONQUEST. By *Oklah L. Jones, Jr.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1966. Pp. xxi, 225. $5.00.)

PROFESSOR Jones has undertaken to document in a general way the skill with which Spaniards exploited Indian feuds in planting, expanding, and defending their empire in North America. Indian peoples were utilized to subordinate one another in turn to the Spanish will, under the principle of *divide et impera.* The real purpose of the author, however, has been to show the major and hitherto largely unnoticed role the Pueblo Indians played in this program. They supplied the largest part of the force used in subjugating themselves during the reconquest by Vargas, and their contingents were then used with effect in Spanish efforts to contain the Ute, Apache, Navaho, and Comanche menace. The author has found more than adequate support for his thesis in the voluminous and detailed Spanish records—a mass of documentation that was one of the incidental by-products of Spanish bureaucracy and red tape, for which, to that extent, we may all be thankful.

Jones has proved his case to the hilt. The chief fault, in fact, of his book is that it is too highly particularized. It tends to take on the character of a catalogue of military actions. Though these musters, campaigns, and battles are interesting enough in themselves, they are not sufficiently related to the broad underlying context of Indian problems and Spanish policy, and the book does not achieve the cohesion, clarity, and significance it might have had. Jones's work will be more useful to those wanting answers to questions on detail than to the general reader or scholar seeking understanding or an overview. A certain cloudiness of style and imprecision in the use of words also tend to distract the reader and obscure the author's meaning. "Indian pueblos," for example, are "ambushed"; commanders operate with "a small handful of men"; a "confederation" is "severed"; "agricultural development" overcomes "economic strife." For all this, however, Jones has produced a pioneer work of considerable value. His research has been

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both competent and conscientious, and it will require some re-evaluation of southwestern history.

University of Santa Clara EDWIN A. BEILHARZ

A HISTORY OF NEGRO SLAVERY IN NEW YORK. By *Edgar J. McManus*. Foreword by *Richard B. Morris*. ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 219. $5.95.)

IN its scholarship, as in its reflective insights, this work ranks with the half-dozen significant book-length studies of slavery published since 1956 in the wake of Kenneth Stampp's revisionist survey. McManus unfolds an aspect of slavery unfamiliar in its locale and untraditional in its operations. One might not expect to find slavery deeply rooted above the Mason-Dixon line, but as early as 1626 the Dutch West India Company, badly in need of laborers, imported to New Netherland a parcel of eleven slaves. The trade was systematically followed up, but the supply always lagged behind the demand, even though a single bottom might land a cargo of as many as three hundred Negroes for sale. The traffic reached its height after the establishment of British control in 1664, attracting reputable merchants as well as Captain Kidd types and soon becoming an important element in the colony's commercial prosperity. By the middle of the eighteenth century New York's adult slave population approached ten thousand, outstripping all of its neighbors north of Maryland.

McManus describes the uniquely favorable relations that the Dutch established with slaves and free Negroes. English rule was inevitably far more restrictive, but the New York slave did enjoy some "elbow room." The colony numbered a higher proportion of skilled slaves than any other, and such artisans enjoyed a bargaining power and demonstrated an assertiveness that set them apart from the plantation slave of the South. It may be noted, however, that McManus does not compare the New York slave with those in any other northern or middle colony, a comparison that would seem called for in the light of his statement that "the New York slave retained a personality and view of life peculiarly his own." This book does not describe the everyday life of the slave, or seasonal patterns of employment—omissions doubtlessly due to the problem of establishing a prototype for so varied a scene as New York. McManus gives careful attention to such standard items as slave runaways and conspiracies, but he is perhaps at his best in treating manumission and abolition. His diagnosis of the motivations of the leaders of the antislavery forces in New York is penetrating, prompting a ready acceptance of his conclusion that emancipation was not meant to raise the Negro "to a better life but to displace him." Clearly written, if without stylistic distinction, this work is rewarding for its wealth of fresh findings if in a relatively brief compass.

Morgan State College BENJAMIN QUARLES

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WILLIAM PENN THE POLITICIAN: HIS RELATIONS WITH THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT. By *Joseph E. Illick*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 267. $5.75.)

THIS study of William Penn is a straightforward account of his political relations with the English government. With support from the Stuart kings, Penn was able to establish a relatively autonomous proprietary colony at a time when official English policy was to limit or even to abolish proprietary governments. Mr. Illick asserts that the Stuarts believed the obligation they owed to the Quaker "was more the result of a personal than a financial debt owed to his deceased father."

In addition to desiring a colony for his "holy experiment," Penn hoped to use his political influence to bring about religious toleration for Dissenters in England, as well as to protect Pennsylvania from English interference in order that his political and religious ideals could be brought to fruition there. Soon after the organization of the provincial government, a small Quaker hegemony came to control the legislature. It invariably acted independently of, and sometimes in opposition to, both Penn and the English government. The author maintains that except for the first years of William III's reign, Penn's success in retaining his colony against various governmental attacks was largely the result of his influence with prominent statesmen. This central theme of the biography is ably supported.

Penn's unfortunate association with James II resulted in a brief imprisonment, a charge of high treason, and the loss of Pennsylvania early in William III's reign. By the end of 1693, however, changes had occurred in the Privy Council, and once again Penn had friends in high places. William granted him complete freedom late that year and the following year restored his province to him. But when Pennsylvania failed to comply with the Navigation Act of 1696, Penn once again found himself caught between conflicting imperial and provincial issues. Meanwhile the energetic Board of Trade renewed its attack on his government. By 1703 Penn's health had broken, and he was in serious financial trouble. He began protracted negotiations to sell his province to the crown. At length in 1712, after receiving one thousand pounds, he agreed to sell the province for twelve thousand pounds, but a more serious stroke prevented a formal agreement from ever being reached. When in 1718 Penn finally died, he was still the proprietor, but he had moved further from the principles on which he had originally founded his government.

Illick has presented a well-written and well-documented biography. His research has led him to the standard manuscript and printed sources, which are annotated in the bibliography. This excellent study closes a gap in colonial history.

Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia JOHN J. ZIMMERMAN

BAPTISTS IN NEW JERSEY: A STUDY IN TRANSITION. By *Norman H. Maring*. (Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press. 1964. Pp. 379. $3.50.)

THIS institutional history was written, as the author says, "primarily for and about New Jersey Baptists." It covers the period from 1688 to the present. While it stays pretty carefully within its territorial boundaries, it touches upon most of the issues Protestantism has faced in America. Unfortunately the Baptists in New Jersey do

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not allow the author to make up in depth what this book lacks in breadth. It probably tells us all the essential facts about the Baptists in New Jersey, but they seem to have been a thin lot. They did not even have a periodical until 1890. It is impossible to single out anything that makes them in any way significant or important. Whether they are typical will have to await more such studies.

Scholars working in American religious history will find valuable nuggets of information about broader problems in this encyclopedic work: the relationship of the New Jersey Baptists to those of New England; the tardiness of the Baptist response to the first Great Awakening; the lack of Baptist concern over slavery; the absence of any clear-cut Baptist theory of separation of church and state; the failure of Baptist Indian missions; Baptist loyalism in 1776; Baptist anti-intellectualism in general; the decline of church discipline; the quarrels over foreign missions; the inability to maintain doctrinal standards; the development of separate but equal Negro churches; the loss of ministerial status; the rise of institutional bureaucracy; the failure to adjust to non-Protestant immigration, the higher criticism, urbanism, suburbanism, and science. On the whole the record is one of almost constant failure, which may tell us much about why Americans are entering the post-Christian era.

But the reader will find little probing or analysis of these issues. The author had mined the local Baptist records for institutional information, but he pauses only occasionally for a brief paragraph of general interpretation. The subtitle of the book gives the game away: for three centuries the Baptists in New Jersey have been in transition. But whether this was the result of denominational virtues or shortcomings, the gradual secularization of American culture, the particular accidents of New Jersey, or providential lack of talented leadership, Mr. Maring does not deign to say. He is concerned to tell us what happened (mostly in the participants' own words), not why.

Brown University WILLIAM G. MCLOUGHLIN

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. By *Ralph L. Ketcham*. [The Great American Thinkers Series.] (New York: Washington Square Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 226. $3.95.)

THE author of this volume has made a valuable contribution to the understanding of the American eighteenth century. A succinct and sensible book on Benjamin Franklin, written for nonspecialists, was needed. Not everyone has the time or inclination to read Carl Van Doren's classic work or the documentation in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* as the new volumes appear. But everyone knows something about Franklin and will welcome an interpretation as well written and as well balanced as Ketcham's.

Not every reader of Franklin's *Autobiography* and *Poor Richard's Almanac* has been an enthusiastic admirer of this American sage. Much of the criticism of him has been superficial and uninformed. Demonstrating a smugness and an intolerance themselves, literary critics have frequently not taken the trouble to study Franklin carefully enough to comprehend his remarkable genius. Ketcham's book seeks to present Franklin in proper perspective and to show the manifold qualities

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of the man without sentimentality or idolatry. Any century or any country that can produce a Franklin deserves to be remembered for that, if for nothing else.

Recent research, particularly the work of the editors of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin,* has begun a new interest in Franklin and a broader understanding of his thought and contributions to science, philosophy, politics, and the social progress of his age.

Although Franklin in his maturity embraced deism, Ketcham shows that his conditioning in Puritan Boston, the virtues that his father taught him, and the social ideas that he acquired in his youth influenced him throughout his life. But whatever Puritanism Franklin inherited from his background he tempered with what Ketcham describes as "the universal brotherhood of the enlightenment." He developed the faith in human reason that characterized the eighteenth century, and, in the realm of international affairs, he clung to the "fond hope of his age that reason would soon purge the world of war and tyranny." Franklin had the wisdom to see beyond immediate emotions and to comprehend ultimate results.

Franklin had the capacity of inducing reasonableness in others. As the senior member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, a sage past eighty, he contributed to the success of the sessions by the spirit of conciliation that he induced. Without Franklin's humorous anecdotes at moments of heated argument, the convention might have exploded into controversy and bitterness.

Franklin's personal reconciliation with life, his capacity for participation without excessive emotional involvement, and his humorous detachment were qualities that helped him acquire the wisdom that he demonstrated. Ketcham shrewdly observes: "He knew well that learning to laugh at one's self was an impregnable refuge of tranquillity and sanity." This book deserves wide reading by an age too much given to pompous utterance and sentimental nonsense.

Folger Shakespeare Library LOUIS B. WRIGHT

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN LIBRARIES. By *Margaret Barton Korty.* [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LV, Part 9.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1965. Pp. 83. $2.00.)

ALTHOUGH the main concern of this short book is with Franklin and with libraries, it also demonstrates once more Franklin's wide-ranging contributions, both intellectual and monetary. The author has carefully examined manuscripts and printed materials on Franklin and the various institutions he sponsored or aided. Originally a thesis in library science, the book is sometimes, like a catalogue, a bit dull. It has, however, been meticulously researched and provides useful and, occasionally, amusing information about Franklin's sixty-year influence on the founding of libraries in the eastern states.

The early story of the Library Company of Philadelphia to which considerable space is devoted in the first part of the book is a twice-told tale, as is that of the initial years of the other organizations described, but the emphasis here is on Franklin as promoter of libraries. It cannot be denied that the Library Company which Franklin helped to found had a great impact on libraries in Philadelphia,

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in Pennsylvania, and elsewhere in the United States. From the inquiry into the Library Company the author goes on to consider other libraries, specifically those of academic institutions, of learned and medical societies, of agencies of governments, and of religious and charitable organizations.

One chuckles on reading that despite his love of books Franklin believed them somewhat suspect, for he corresponded with Dr. Benjamin Rush on the "possibility of transmitting colds through books." Another item that made me smile was the appendix describing Franklin's invention called "The Long Arm" for reaching books on high shelves. As one of his correspondents wrote to him: "True Genius will not content itself without entering more or less into almost everything and of mastering many things more in spite of Fate it self." Books naturally are important to libraries, but Franklin seemed an indispensable catalyst.

American University DOROTHY D. GONDOS

SYMBOLS OF AMERICAN COMMUNITY, 1735–1775. By *Richard L. Merritt.* [Yale Studies in Political Science, Number 16.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xxii, 279. $6.00.)

PROFESSOR Merritt has examined selected issues of seven newspapers, counting the times British and colonial writers speak of "Americans" or "America" rather than "His Majesty's Subjects" or "the colonies." He attempts to determine when Americans developed a sense of distinctness from Britain, whether this sense of American identity preceded or followed the creation of common political institutions for the country, and the relationship of this national awareness to such events as the French and Indian War and the Stamp Act crisis.

British writers spoke of America and Americans earlier than did Americans. In the period 1755–1759 about 76 per cent of the British references to the colonies referred to them as America, while only 37 per cent of the symbols of American origin did so. Still, colonial recognition of a national community developed a decade before Americans established a significant number of continental political institutions. As to the great events of the prerevolutionary period, Merritt concludes that they were not very important in stimulating a sense of national identity. The colonial wars against France slowed the development of sentiments of American distinctness, and the rise in community awareness began in 1763, well before the Stamp Act crisis. An American sense of identity was prerequisite to colonial opposition rather than an outgrowth of it.

This study is entirely quantitative, so that we do not know whether American references to Britain in the papers examined were favorable or unfavorable. Nor is there any other indication as to the context in which these symbols appeared. Merritt makes some grand leaps from his quantitative evidence to his generalizations about the processes of political integration. He argues that the most influential factors in the rising sense of national identity were expanding facilities of intercolonial communication, population growth, and intercolonial mobility, but makes no serious study of changes in these things or of their relationship to the growth of American symbols across the years. Thus, on increased mobility, his

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only evidence is George Whitefield's seven trips through the colonies. From the historian's point of view, his list of formative events is equally unsophisticated.

The book is based on a study of four issues of each newspaper for each year. Though satisfactory for some purposes, this is questionable procedure in relating community awareness to formative events, which do not necessarily occur in a determinable random pattern. Political scientists may find this book suggestive in understanding the development of political communities. The author's contribution to the history of the period is fully set forth in one of Merritt's earlier articles (*William and Mary Quarterly,* XXXI [Apr. 1964]).

Lehigh University JOHN CARY

LEGAL PAPERS OF JOHN ADAMS. Volume I, INTRODUCTION; CASES 1–30; Volume II, CASES 31–62; Volume III, CASES 63 & 64: THE BOSTON MASSACRE TRIALS; CHRONOLOGY; INDEX. *L. Kinvin Wroth* and *Hiller B. Zobel,* Editors. THE ADAMS PAPERS. Series 3, GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE AND OTHER PAPERS OF THE ADAMS STATESMEN. *L. H. Butterfield,* Editor in Chief. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. cxliv, 334; x, 441; viii, 434. $30.00 the set.)

THE preponderance of lawyers in the public assemblies of the revolutionary era; the fact that leaders of the stature of Jefferson, Hamilton, Adams, and Marshall were trained in the same rigorous manner, molded by the same masters of the English common law; and that American institutions reflect this background strongly suggest that legal history should be a field of primary importance among American historians. This has not been the case, however; for the layman, as anyone who has spent even an hour with Coke upon Littleton will recognize, faces immense difficulties in attempting to comprehend the mind of an eighteenth-century lawyer. It was a wise decision to turn to the two young Harvard Law School graduates who have so magnificently carried through the task of bringing the *Legal Papers of John Adams* to publication.

What Wroth and Zobel have accomplished is, as Lyman H. Butterfield comments in his prefatory remarks, "almost literally . . . an extended piece of archeological reconstruction . . . ," a collection of sixty-four of the most significant cases that Adams was concerned with during twenty years of highly successful legal practice. These documents, hundreds of them printed for the first time, have been selected from Adams' own legal papers, from notebooks and minutes left by his contemporaries at the bar, and from voluminous records found in the office of the clerk of the Suffolk County Court.

The editors have provided each section and each case with excellent introductory notes drawn from every imaginable source ranging from regimental records to local histories, from Public Record Office documents to the most recent historical monographs. As a guide to legal terminology and practice in eighteenth-century Massachusetts, the sixty-three-page introduction should prove an indispensable aid to historians of American legal history.

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There is a vast amount to be learned, also, about the social and economic life of New England from these volumes, particularly in those sections dealing with contracts, admiralty, and criminal cases. We are given new understanding of the events that brought Adams to the defense of Captain Preston and his men as well as to anger and chagrin over the treatment accorded unpopular, suspect Tories by ardent Sons of Liberty who took it upon themselves to attack, ransack, and burn. From scores of eyewitness accounts we may learn why it was that Preston was acquitted and the guilt of his men almost impossible for a jury to ascertain. We learn, in effect, that the story of the Boston Massacre has never before been fully treated. For lawyer Adams we learn to have heightened respect as a practitioner of his art.

Most scholars and students will find the introduction an invaluable guide to the history of the early American bar and to the intricacies of the late colonial court system; they will find at the end of the third volume an excellent bibliography of sources for the study of American legal history; and they will find the massacre trials testimony fascinating in itself and rich in sources for a more adequate account than has yet been written of an event that displayed both English justice and John Adams at their resplendent best. This is a scholarly work of such merit as to demand the highest praise.

Wabash College STEPHEN G. KURTZ

HOPEWELL VILLAGE: A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF AN IRON-MAKING COMMUNITY. By *Joseph E. Walker*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1966. Pp. 526. $10.00.)

FOUNDED in 1771, Hopewell Furnace suffered improvident management, postwar slumps, and land title suits until about 1820 when, under abler and more attentive owner-managers, it began two decades of high prosperity through stove casting. Then depression and the rise of hot-blast coke furnaces started it on a long decline, temporarily reversed by Civil War and railroad demand, to its final blast in 1883. It was not the first, last, biggest, nor oldest of several hundred Pennsylvania charcoal iron furnaces. Its distinction came through restoration as the Hopewell Village National Historical Site and the amassing of its manuscript records. From this comes Professor Walker's long-matured book, thorough and meticulous in the mining, smelting, and casting of its abundant materials. Though clear and direct in style, it is often lumpy with trivia. But for the casual or hurried reader there is a skillful summary of conclusions, a bibliographic essay on what others have said about such communities, a full index, and many photographs of the restoration.

The patient reader sees a charcoal iron community in detail comparable only to that of E. N. Hartley's *Ironworks on the Saugus* for another time and place. Subject and sources make Walker's book less sophisticated in style and grand in theme but fuller as to social and cultural life. Hopewell's piping times are its chief concern; unfortunately dates are not always specified. After a historical sketch the book turns to topics of community life, fully describing furnace tech-

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nology but adding nothing new. It examines homes, furnishings, crops, buildings, and equipment; managerial and clerical work; transportation and marketing (without advertising); labor conditions; and village trade (not a company monopoly). Its analysis of village society includes community relations, the substantial Negro element (relatively unsegregated), women and children (many being wage earners), education, health, religion, recreation, and outside contacts (more extensive than usually assumed). Forty-four pages of tables analyze representative incomes, expenditures, articles of consumption, jobs, and working hours.

Walker has, as he says, not tried to compare Hopewell Village with other places. But if his field of vision is narrow, his definition is sharp. Those who seek to know the shape of American life in almost any respect during the first half of the nineteenth century should in the course of their search put an eye to this peephole.

Boston University ROBERT V. BRUCE

GENERAL DE KALB, LAFAYETTE'S MENTOR. By *A. E. Zucker.* [University of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures, Number 53.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. [1966.] Pp. ix, 251. $7.00.)

UNTIL the appearance of this book, the only serious work on De Kalb was done by Friedrich Kapp over a hundred years ago. Its German and English versions have long been out of print, and the research carried on in the intervening time on eighteenth-century European and American history has been considerable.

Professor Zucker has succeeded in finding some previously unused material in American and French repositories and has rediscovered in France a large number of letters written by De Kalb to his wife during his service in the American Continental Army. Copies of these letters had been used by Kapp, but had since disappeared. The list of "Principal Authorities" attests to Zucker's comprehensive use of pertinent printed and manuscript material.

Still, in the large outline, Kapp's painstaking search for the sources of his hero's life had produced the historically essential facts: De Kalb's humble German peasant origin, the noble status conferred upon De Kalb by himself to facilitate his career in the French Army, his military apprenticeship under Maurice de Saxe and Lowendal, his noteworthy diplomatic enterprise in the American colonies in 1768 for which he had been commissioned by Choiseul, his introduction of La Fayette to Silas Deane and his intervention which secured for the young French nobleman a major-generalship in the American Army, his own service to American independence, and his heroic death on the battlefield of Camden, South Carolina, in 1780.

Zucker has added details here and there; particularly, in the first part of his book, he has taken leisurely excursions into eighteenth-century history to fill the chapters on the youth and early manhood of De Kalb about which a number of things are not known and, in all probability, never will be known. He has written discursively and not without repetitions. The reader will find a carefully docu-

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mented and reliable narrative, but he will need some patience to plod through this labor of love.

Montclair State College EDITH LENEL

SLAVERY AND METHODISM: A CHAPTER IN AMERICAN MORALITY, 1780–1845. By *Donald G. Mathews*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 329. $7.50.)

RECENT discussions of the anti-institutional character of Jacksonian America suggest the utility of test cases, studies of national institutions, and the impact on them of democratic ideas inherited from the Revolution. One such institution was the Methodist Episcopal Church, and an undramatic but valuable account of its disruption by the slavery question is provided in *Slavery and Methodism*. Mr. Mathews' dispassionate analysis has two distinct merits, the first of which is perspective. By tracing the Methodist debate over slavery to its origins in the post-revolutionary humanitarianism of Bishop Asbury and his generation, the author is able to distinguish the later crisis within the Church from similar upheavals in other denominations. Soon after the turn of the eighteenth century Asbury's work was undone by compromise and confusion, and thirty years later a new generation of Methodist abolitionists who had no connection with the earlier phase called for a restoration, the complexities and ambiguities of which they scarcely understood. In other denominations abolitionism may have been the delayed effect of the second Great Awakening, but in the Methodist Church the anti-slavery movement was "not so much a result as the substance of a revival—perhaps a 'Third Great Awakening' itself." In the debate leading to the schism of 1844 both the abolitionists and the defenders of slavery could appeal to internally consistent and mutually exclusive readings of Methodist history, the former to the antislavery heritage of Asbury, the latter to subsequent repudiation and adjustment. Like the political controversy over the nature of the Union sixteen years later, the Methodist debate could not be won with words.

A second virtue of the study is its range of analysis. Mathews moves, albeit ponderously at times, from the conference to the pastoral level, from episcopal pronouncements to local and sectional rejoinders. A detailed report of the growth of Methodist abolitionism in the North is balanced by a fascinating if somewhat wistful account of the confused efforts of the Southern Mission to Slaves.

For all these new details, the story of the schism of 1844 arranges itself in an undeniably familiar pattern: initial protests of a militant abolitionist minority; opposition from southerners in league with northern moderates bent on preserving institutional unity; charges of ecclesiastical tyranny drowning out appeals for tolerance; rapid hardening of extreme positions; gradual defection of the moderates from the proslavery camp; frantic proposals for "compromise" that do not compromise; and finally southern secession. Mathews would not have us make too much of the implied comparison with later political events and the outbreak of war. "The division of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . . neither portended that war nor 'snapped' a bond of union: it merely became one of the many events

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which contributed to increased sectional antagonism." He notes but dismisses the question of a contemporary observer who asked pointedly: "If the clergy whose business is peace and good will cannot tolerate each other of the same sect, what will become of the politicians whose vocation is strife and dissension?" Despite the author's circumspection and intentional avoidance of the dramatic, I, for one, was left with the distinct impression of having attended a dress rehearsal.

Brown University JOHN L. THOMAS

FISHER AMES: FEDERALIST AND STATESMAN, 1758–1808. By *Winfred E. A. Bernhard*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1965. Pp. xiii, 372. $8.75.)

FISHER Ames "brought to the Federalist Party a vivid intelligence which helped to make it strong and helped to make it weak." In setting forth this paradox in one career, the author illuminates the type of men who composed the Federalist party.

By reading his father's almanac and tending his father's inn, young Ames absorbed the New England mind and talk. He was schooled at Harvard and in the law office of William Tudor. His experiences in the year of Shays' Rebellion molded his politics, which were reflected in the articles that he wrote that year for the *Independent Chronicle* of Boston. With the removal of Rufus King to New York, a place was open in the upper ranks of the Massachusetts politicians. Ames took advantage of this opportunity and was elected four times to the national House of Representatives, 1789–1797.

It was his oratory that brought him pre-eminence, first in the Massachusetts Ratification Convention where he defeated Samuel Adams and later in Congress. His greatest speeches were against Madison's "war regulations" and in defense of Jay's Treaty. But his oratory was more to undermine than to clarify. The author speaks of an "abrasive medium," of "spines, sharp as a New England hawthorn's, on which he endeavored to impale his adversary," of a Jupiter "who could hurl thunderbolts." This was the strength of those in power who did not need to convince. It was the strength of those who plant foundations, not of those who provide for change.

In retirement (brought on by pneumonia or possibly by hysteria) Ames's strength became his weakness. He supported a rigid enforcement of the Sedition Act; his eulogy of Washington was political exhortation. In his later years he became an Episcopalian and wrote for the *New England Palladium*. He did not join the conspiracy of the Essex Junto for he felt that the Jacobins could not be destroyed by New England's secession from the Union. The people of the state and of the nation should be led by the example of their betters. This fine human portrait of an "inveterate Yankee" depicts the rock to which many New Englanders clung. But does a man stand so alone in politics? More information about how Ames acquired his own fortune, about the men who first pushed him forward and supported him in his constituency, about the common interests that tied the northern Federalist Ames to the southern Federalist Smith would have

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made this a better book. In this way political biography would serve a deeper and a wider purpose.

University of South Carolina GEORGE C. ROGERS, JR.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON E IL FEDERALISMO AMERICANO. By *Lucio Levi.* [Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Scienze Politiche dell'Università di Torino, Volume XII.] (Turin: Edizioni Giappichelli. 1965. Pp. 276. L. 3,400.)

ON April 2, 1920, Benito Mussolini's *Popolo d'Italia* published Lincoln's letter of 1853 to Macedonio Melloni in which the American backwoodsman championed Italy's claims to Corsica, the two Venezias, and the whole of Dalmatia. The antics of certain Fascist scholars in sustaining the authenticity of this crude forgery after its exposure by Salvemini were a disgrace to the historical profession (see Raymond G. Rocca, "Fascist Propaganda and a Lincoln Forgery," *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly,* II [Dec. 1943], 1–8). The present monograph concerning one of the founding fathers is of a different order and stems from a different climate of opinion. It is a serious, scholarly study, pleasingly composed, and based on a broad reading in the literature and on a penetrating study of Hamilton's original writings. Professors at Turin encouraged the study; a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation provided financial support.

I can only commend work of this sort, good for its own sake, but good also because such scholarship facilitates understanding across national boundaries. The footnotes gratifyingly reveal how much attention has been devoted by Italian writers since the overthrow of Fascism to the American national experience. This is, indeed, excellent work for one not steeped in the American tradition. But the foreigner always confronts serious obstacles in trying to grasp the whole milieu and the subtle nuances in the history of another people. Washington did not surprise the Hessians by crossing a Delaware River frozen over. Levi missed Julian P. Boyd's recent monograph, *Number 7* (see *AHR,* LXX [July 1965], 1236). He seems unaware of Bemis' study, *Jay's Treaty* (1923).

The great merit of the book is the analysis in Chapter VI of Hamilton's political ideas, the discussion of *The Federalist.* But the very spirit of sympathetic understanding has carried the author too far. He tends to idealize his hero, to gloss over his faults, to attribute more to him than careful weighing of the evidence will sustain. The very title conveys some ambiguity. Hamilton certainly was a Federalist in the American party sense of the term, but his actual influence in the Federal Convention was not great. At heart, he favored a degree of centralization that went far beyond the separation of national and state sovereignties so ably expounded in his arguments for ratification of the Constitution. Yet despite Levi's lapses, he appears to have penetrated so deeply into the spirit of the controversies that evoked Hamilton's great writings as to have become a Federalist himself, real proof of his transcending of national historiographical boundaries.

Department of State HOWARD M. SMYTH

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THE PAPERS OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Volume VIII, FEBRUARY 1791–JULY 1791; Volume IX, AUGUST 1791–DECEMBER 1791. Edited by *Harold C. Syrett. Jacob E. Cooke,* Associate Editor. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 626; xiii, 599. $12.50 each.)

THE eighth and ninth volumes of this sumptuous and meticulous edition of Hamilton's papers give us a close look at their dashing protagonist as he was nearing the peak of intellectual and political power. The year 1791 was the year of the Bank of the United States, which was signed into law by President Washington on February 25; of the whisky tax, which followed hard on its heels in a statute of March 3; and of the immense efforts of Hamilton, his aids, and his correspondents to gather the statistics that were to give substance to the Report on Manufactures of December 5—which will be, so far as I can tell, the very first item in Volume X. It was also the year in which Hamilton must have realized that he could no longer work comfortably with Madison, who had been his partner in creative nationalism for almost eight years, or work at all with Jefferson, with whom his relations had never been more than formal.

The breaking point between Hamilton and "the Republican interest" was the brilliant debate of February 1791 over the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States, and we can be especially grateful to Professor Syrett and his associates for the definitive materials that have been assembled and annotated in Volume VIII. Indeed, these pages are a model for other editors of the papers of famous Americans, for they tell us all that we need to know of the provenance of Hamilton's supreme effort as constitutionalist—the Opinion on the Constitutionality of an Act to Establish a Bank, dated February 23, 1791—without swamping us in details that his leading biographers have described fully and carefully or printing related documents that are readily available in the equally authoritative editions of the papers of Hamilton's friends and foes. In a recent lecture, polite yet firm, to the fraternity of historical editors, Lester Cappon laid out the most sensible guidelines I have yet seen in this difficult area of choice and taste ("A Rationale for Historical Editing Past and Present," *William and Mary Quarterly,* XXIII [Jan. 1966], 56–75), and I am happy to say that, at least on the evidence of these two volumes, Syrett and his friends are treading a plainly sensible path between the easy luxury of saying too much and the foolish austerity of saying too little. One may look forward not merely eagerly but also hopefully to the completion of this great work of historical editing.

Cornell University CLINTON ROSSITER

GROWTH AND WELFARE IN THE AMERICAN PAST: A NEW ECONOMIC HISTORY. By *Douglass C. North.* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1966. Pp. xiv, 198. Cloth $5.95, paper $2.95.)

ATTRACTED to the past by widespread interest in growth, economists in recent years have invigorated the field of American economic history, especially that of the nineteenth century, by their use of statistics and theory. In this book Douglass North both describes their findings and suggests analytical questions and tentative answers to a number of problems not yet systematically examined. His presenta-

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tion is nontechnical and contains numerous insights. The discussion of late nineteenth-century agriculture and the economic effects of New Deal policies is especially good.

On the debit side, factual slips, imprecise statements, contradictions, and questionable judgments occasionally appear. On one page North doubts that any single industry accounts for a major share in development, while on another he has the automobile industry exerting a "major impact on the economy," and on still another page, cotton making the "big difference in the economy after 1815." The presentation of the results of Robert Fogel's hypothetical numerical constructs without adequate qualifications is misleading.

My chief reservation is that the techniques of the new economic history are less efficacious than North believes. Their limitations are visible throughout the book. North calls repeatedly for the use of theory, yet himself provides no theoretical framework for growth. He insists on the ubiquity of the need for quantification, yet himself makes numerous unsupported judgments that imply numerical values. Among specified requirements for growth North mentions from time to time trade, immigration, foreign investment, incentives, education, the Constitution, cotton, industrialization, technology, and organizational ability. These are variously labeled "essential," "important," or "significant," called "one of the main prerequisites," or otherwise stressed. Yet their relative degrees of importance remain unquantified. The author should not be expected to do what no one else could meaningfully do. He ought, however, to recognize the limitations of his preferred technique.

North believes that the "new economic history points the way to a basic restructuring of historical inquiry" along scientific lines, but I disagree. If historicism lies at one end of an indefensible extreme, scientism is at the other. North rightly stresses the need to use "hypothetical alternatives" to estimate the relative importance of historical events. Historians always do so, if only implicitly. Where he errs is in the assumption that the technique leads to science; it does not. Once an element is abstracted so that comparison is possible between historical situations with and without x, the other elements do not remain constant, but change. Before the degree of change can be measured, it is first necessary to decide what is likely to have changed, in what direction, and with what consequences to interwoven elements. These assumptions are matters of judgment, and neither the discipline of theory nor the precision of number can dispense with the need for it. So long as individual differences in knowledge and insight exist, history will be rewritten to reflect those differences.

Michigan State University STUART BRUCHEY

THE IRISH IN NEW ORLEANS, 1800–1860. By *Earl F. Niehaus*. [Louisiana State University Studies, Social Science Series, Number 10.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 194. $3.00.)

ONE does not ordinarily associate nineteenth-century mass migration from Europe with the American South, nor the Irish with New Orleans. Father Niehaus has helped broaden our perspective with this clearly written, thoroughly researched

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study. Relying primarily on local newspapers, he surveys the "socially significant" activities of the Irish in ante bellum New Orleans. With a wealth of information and a plethora of footnotes, he describes the role of the Irish in economic, social, political, and religious developments. It is a sound localized survey, but suffers from lack of a central unifying interpretation.

Although some middle-class Irishmen were first attracted to New Orleans after the opening of the Louisiana Territory in 1803, heavy Irish immigration began in the 1830's, thanks to the returning cotton boats. The vast majority of the 250,000 who arrived by 1860 chose not to remain in the Crescent City, a phenomenon that Niehaus does not adequately explain, but enough did stay to help bring about a significant demographic transformation. From 1830 to 1840 the population doubled to over 100,000, and New Orleans became the third largest city in the United States; the racial composition changed from dominantly Negro (60 per cent in 1830) to dominantly white (20 per cent Negro in 1840).

These later Irish were primarily peasants. Poor, unlettered, and unskilled, they became the identifiable ethnic minority. Ignorant, intemperate, boisterous, they crowded into filthy slums, performed work too risky for slaves, and were decimated by malaria, yellow fever, and cholera. But they persevered. By the 1850's many were active in education, medicine, law, architecture, and journalism. Through sheer weight of numbers they "plebeianized" (Will Herberg's phrase) the Catholic Church by creating benevolent societies and free parochial schools. Such institutions, claims the author, were an important step in the process of Americanization. Politically the Irish were a significant voting bloc for the local Democrats, and for a time in the 1850's they felt the wrath of the Know-Nothings.

Americanization in the South also meant the absorption of anti-Negro prejudices, an attitude that was intensified by a bitter struggle for jobs between the Irish and the Negroes in the 1830's and 1840's. Not only did the lay Irish become strong supporters of slavery, but Irish Catholic priests themselves hedged on the moral issue. In 1861 the New Orleans Irish thought of themselves as southerners and eagerly enlisted in the Confederate Army.

The book ends abruptly with the occupation of New Orleans by Union forces on April 26, 1862; a concluding chapter pulling together the significant themes of the study would have been useful. Readers unfamiliar with New Orleans will be irritated by the frequent references to specific streets since not a single map has been included. And finally, in view of the perceptive analysis of the factors that encouraged violence, as well as the many examples given of law-abiding Irishmen, it is nonsense to state that for Irishmen fighting was "an elemental force, a compulsion."

University of Cincinnati ARNOLD SCHRIER

THE REVOLUTION OF AMERICAN CONSERVATISM: THE FEDERALIST PARTY IN THE ERA OF JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY. By *David Hackett Fischer*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. xx, 455. $8.95.)

ALTHOUGH its title claims at once too much and too little, this volume is a bril-

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liant contribution to our understanding of American political development. It analyzes the breakdown of patterns of deference in American politics and the rise of democratic participation, in terms of Federalist and Jeffersonian Republican party rivalry from 1800 to 1816. Something less than a revolution in conservatism, this is still much more than just an aspect of Federalist history.

At the outset Fischer entertains two major hypotheses: the conventional view that the Jeffersonian spirit quickened political participation after 1800; and the revisionist contention that higher levels of party competition in the period explain increased popular involvement. Reminding us that the issue was not so much qualifications for voting as interest in voting, he concludes his analysis by adopting the second hypothesis. It can be argued that his methods leave at least part of the thesis still unproved. Nonetheless, his sophisticated, deeply researched exploration of the issue makes a strong case. It also turns up masses of valuable material for the whole problem of party development.

Federalists in the Jeffersonian era have been pictured as disdaining party organization. This was true for the old school, Fischer says, but not for legions of second-generation leaders who labored to revive the party after the debacle of 1800. By my rapid count he gives us biographical data for 197 old-school Federalists, generally born before 1760, for 225 "young Federalists," generally vintage 1760–1789, and for 47 "transitional figures." His old school includes such men as George Cabot, William Cooper, C. C. Pinckney, Timothy Dwight, and John Adams. Among transitional figures he lists Hamilton, Fisher Ames, William Loughton Smith, Marshall, and Noah Webster. Among the younger Federalists Fischer includes Harrison Gray Otis, Robert Goodloe Harper, James A. Bayard, John Quincy Adams, and William Plumer. Recognizing the erosion of habits of subordination in an increasingly equalitarian age, such men employed Jeffersonian innovations "for their own elitist purposes," particularly party organization to make nominations and get out the vote. Organize they did in state after state, in the face of the lethargy or resistance of old hands. Despite local successes, however, their attempts to build national organization produced only the quasi conventions of 1808 and 1812.

It was too little and too late to overthrow the Jeffersonian ascendancy. Perhaps also organization was not so strong or durable as it appears in Fischer's charts. Yet the young Federalists clearly did recognize the demise of the politics of deference as they strove to convert a party of notables into a party of working politicians, a paradoxically elitist party engaged in popular rhetoric. The evidence suggests a conception of the Federalists in the 1790's as a transitional party which became a wholly modern party only after the shock of Jefferson's victory.

From 1800 to 1816, Fischer concludes, politics was shaped by the interaction of two "popularly oriented parties." This produced new responsiveness to *vox populi* and new notions of party loyalty as a "virtue"—changes that Fischer says opened the way for Jacksonian democracy, although this may be advancing the clock a bit. Most notably, he argues, it produced a significant increase in voter participation. Turnout did increase, but the claimed correlation of participation with party rivalry depends on limited data for gubernatorial and two other elections in six states, some of it contradictory. A more systematic comparative study seems to

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me to be in order. By focusing on the degree of party competition as evidenced by Federalist and Republican percentages of the vote for several offices in several states from different sections and relating the degree of party competition to percentages of turnout, such a study could test the Jeffersonian ethos and party rivalry hypotheses more effectively. This analysis Fischer does not give us. What he has done, nonetheless, is profoundly valuable. All students of American political development are indebted to him.

Washington University WILLIAM NISBET CHAMBERS

A NATION ON TRIAL: AMERICA AND THE WAR OF 1812. By *Patrick C. T. White.* [America in Crisis.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1965. Pp. ix, 177. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.95.)

IN this brief discussion of the origins and consequences of the War of 1812 Professor White has combined recent scholarship with a personal judgment concerning the deeper meaning of the conflict. The story itself is a familiar one: Two European antagonists seize American ships, and Britain compounds the injury by impressing sailors. Jefferson and Madison seek redress through appeals, negotiation, and economic restrictions until failure becomes so evident that Congress, inspired by fresh and determined leaders, resolves upon war. In the stalemate that ensues neither side gains any of its desired objectives, and the inconclusive outcome is sealed by the Treaty of Ghent. Nevertheless, it was a war that White deems of "enormous significance." Simply by starting and maintaining it, America "preserved her national honor, maintained her Republican institutions, and renewed her sense of national identity." In short, the country "proved her capacity and determination to survive as a nation."

White devotes most of his book to the diplomacy that preceded and accompanied hostilities. If the documentation is his own, the story is essentially the one told by Horsman and Perkins. On the political side he quite rightly considers this a party, not a sectional, conflict. He is less successful in explaining the basis of Federalist opposition; nor does he take seriously the desperate last-minute efforts of northeastern Republicans to postpone hostilities or open them with letters of marque. His thesis that the war had become necessary to save American nationality, that the nation in 1812 was indeed in peril, is most arresting. "The challenge was to every American, and the preservation of the nation required that all muster to the flag." Still, Federalists and Clintonians at the time did not see things in this light at all, having long felt that better leadership could have settled the controversy without war. This is, indeed, a judgment that some diplomatic historians maintain today, and White himself occasionally seems to favor it. If to many Americans, then and now, Jefferson and Madison seem to have bungled things, we may wonder whether matters had really reached the point at which American nationhood was seriously threatened. White might at least have told us what he thinks would have happened had we not gone to war in 1812.

Perhaps owing to publisher's limitations, this thesis is put forth without much supporting substantiation or analysis. For the benefit of those interested in the

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problem, a more extended statement of it would, therefore, be welcome. Compact and inexpensive like the other volumes in this series, the book may prove useful in undergraduate history courses.

American University ROGER H. BROWN

THE WATERFALL THAT BUILT A CITY: THE FALLS OF ST. ANTHONY IN MINNEAPOLIS. By *Lucile M. Kane.* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1966. Pp. x, 224. $5.00.)

THIS volume tells the story of a great American city in terms of a waterfall on the upper Mississippi River and the energy with which it has powered industry. From the time in 1680 when Father Louis Hennepin first saw and named them, the Falls of Saint Anthony have been the dominant feature of the upper Mississippi Valley. They first assumed economic importance after 1819 when the American government established Fort Snelling at the junction of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers. For their use the soldiers built a gristmill and a sawmill powered by the waterfall. Toward the end of the 1830's an ambitious young man named Franklin Steele gained title to land on the east bank of the falls, and thereafter the cascade figured strongly in the economy of the Minnesota country. In the course of a public land sale shortly after Minnesota Territory was organized in 1849, an unknown surveyor named the land owned by Steele "St. Anthony Falls." It was the beginning of the metropolitan center that became Minneapolis.

The location of the waterfall in the heart of a great white pine forest made Minneapolis a sawmill center until the forest reserves were exhausted. The construction of a rail network connecting the wheat country of the upper Great Plains and the Red River Valley of the North with Minneapolis and its waterfall helped to build there a flour milling center that dominated the industry until Buffalo took over leadership in the twentieth century. As the production of hydroelectric power increased the potential of the falls, other industry developed there.

Miss Kane tells of the fight to save the falls as the limestone sheath over which the water pours crumbled away, and she outlines tellingly the story of human greed and ambition that inevitably accompanied the economic development of the area. She was fortunate in that she had access to the business records of most of the water-power and electrical companies that developed at the falls, including those of the Northern States Power Company of Minneapolis which also generously furnished financial assistance to the author. She thus was able to retell the story of Minneapolis in new and stimulating terms.

University of Minnesota, Duluth ARTHUR J. LARSEN

THE SECOND AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEM: PARTY FORMATION IN THE JACKSONIAN ERA. By *Richard P. McCormick.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. x, 389. $7.50.)

PROFESSOR McCormick is not concerned with what political parties in the Jack-

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sonian period stood for, nor what groups, classes, or interests they represented, but rather with the formation of a new party system which he finds different from the first party structure created in the 1790's and the later system that emerged in the 1850's. The second party system, McCormick concludes, was formed essentially for the purpose of contesting the presidency. It was not the product of doctrinal disputes, attitudes on specific public issues, sectional differences, or divisions in Congress, but of the manner in which political leaders in each state related their actions to presidential politics. New party alignments, not revivals of previous party attachments, appeared at various times in different regions during the successive contests for the presidency between 1824 and 1840. The most influential factor determining when party formation occurred was the regional identification of presidential candidates. New alignments appeared first in the Middle States, where there were no regional attachments to candidates in 1824 or 1828; New England did not divide into two parties until Clay was substituted for Adams; the Old South did not divide until Van Buren replaced Jackson as a presidential candidate. Despite the regional identification of candidates, the second party system by 1840 was unusually free of sectional bias; it was balanced and competitive in every region. But, though seemingly truly national, the system was actually artificial. This artificial character resulting from the peculiar circumstances of its formation and the avoidance of sectional divisive issues explains the breakdown of the system in the 1850's. As for the new campaign style that accompanied party formation in the Jacksonian era, McCormick sees it as adding to American politics a "dramatic" function "that transcended concern with government, issues, or candidates and afforded a generalized emotional experience."

In this exhaustive comparative study of party formation in each of twenty-three states (only South Carolina is omitted), McCormick is particularly concerned with the constitutional and legal environment within which elections were conducted: suffrage requirements; methods of voting; voting units; and procedures for elections of state officials, congressmen, and presidential electors. Party structures, he argues, were profoundly affected by these conditions. Considerable attention has also been given to voter participation, which McCormick finds directly related to the closeness of interparty competition rather than to the appeal of candidates or the urgency of issues. In addition to analyzing party formation in the period 1824–1840, McCormick also surveys the party situation from the 1790's to 1824 in each state in order to evaluate developments after 1824. This formidable task has been performed with admirable diligence and with a broadness and thoughtfulness of scholarship that prevent the study from becoming a directory of state politics. While offering more pertinent data on the operation of the political and party structures of the American states prior to 1840 than any other single work, the volume abounds with meaningful comparisons and perceptive analyses. This is a major contribution to the history of American politics.

University of Missouri NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR.

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NEW ORLEANS AND THE RAILROADS: THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMERCIAL EMPIRE, 1830–1860. By *Merl E. Reed*. ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press for the Louisiana Historical Association. 1966. Pp. 172. $5.00.)

THIS volume fulfills a need. To be sure, most of the materials upon which it is based have been available for a considerable period, and a considerable proportion of them are in print. But they have been scattered and sometimes restricted to inconvenient places. Hence Professor Reed's efforts in the economic history of Louisiana have been a pioneering venture, of which *New Orleans and the Railroads* represents a culmination.

It is a book that happily is devoid of unnecessary detail. The reader will become quickly aware of the principal elements. For one thing, the character of commercial enterprise in Louisiana reflected, over three sharply differentiated decades, the political concepts that dominated the state: the Whiggish delight, in the 1830's, with public aid; the disenchanted laissez faire of the Democrats during the 1840's; and the return, amid a more complicated factionalism, toward the Whig position again in the ten years preceding the Civil War. For another thing, the business community of New Orleans, and the associated planter interests of the longer established parishes, could never quite free themselves from a natural bemusement with waterways. Despite the sometimes Herculean efforts of a James Robb, a Buckner H. Payne, or a J. D. B. De Bow, the Crescent City failed to muster the kind of drive for railroad enterprise that characterized such competing entrepôts as New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, or even Charleston, Boston, and Montreal. Though New Orleans continued to prosper, its greatest days lay already in the past. And if, as Reed suggests, the 328 miles of completed railroad that Louisiana took out of the Union in 1861 promised an early expansion into lines of authentic consequence, the Civil War rendered the prospect barren for more than an additional decade.

This is an obviously painstaking work, designed for the specialist in search of elusive facts, yet not without mature conclusions. The author is clearly at home among the intricacies of railroad finance. A sketch map aids in the resolution of the still greater complexities of Louisiana geography.

Trinity College ROBERT C. BLACK III

QUEST FOR A CHRISTIAN AMERICA: THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST AND AMERICAN SOCIETY TO 1866. By *David Edwin Harrell, Jr.* [A Social History of the Disciples of Christ, Volume I.] (Nashville, Tenn.: Disciples of Christ Historical Society. 1966. Pp. xvi, 256. $5.95.)

PROFESSOR Harrell is interested in the response of a single religious body, the Disciples of Christ, to social problems in the pre-Civil War era. Utilizing chiefly the important collection of manuscripts and printed materials deposited at the Disciples of Christ Historical Society in Nashville, the author has tried to suggest the reactions of this denomination to a variety of social issues.

On nearly all issues the Disciples divided three ways: as conservatives, mod-

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erates, and liberals. Over the years these were shifting alignments, but until shortly before the Civil War the moderates remained the largest group. This fact kept the denomination from breaking apart as did other national evangelical groups. The Disciples did suffer fundamental cleavages after the Civil War. Harrell argues persuasively that tensions arising out of the Disciples' response to prewar social problems, especially those of slavery and the issue of war, created an environment in which the postwar breakdown occurred.

Although acknowledging the necessity of understanding the theological views of the Disciples in order to explain fully why they thought and acted as they did, Harrell is disappointing in efforts to develop this side of his story. He speaks of Biblical literalism and helpfully of millennialism, but other possible connections between the Disciples' theology and social action are not adequately explored. The author's use of the concepts of "sect" and "denomination," fundamental to much of his interpretation, is also to be questioned. Harrell believes that the Disciples began as a sect, but by the 1840's had all but imperceptibly changed into a denomination. To make this analysis convincing, there must be precise definitions of "sect" and "denomination" and consistent application of the terminology. The author attempts to embrace three separate definitions of these words—those found in the writings of Ernst Troeltsch, H. Richard Niebuhr, and Elmer T. Clark—with varying success.

Although possessing questionable or inadequately explored analytical sections, this book still deserves a place in the historiography of evangelical Protestantism. Its greatest usefulness will be as a contribution to the history of the denominations in the nineteenth century. Secondarily, it adds to our knowledge of how the evangelicals responded to the major social issues of the ante bellum epoch. In the latter instance the book introduces no new material, but adds valuable details to the previous, more general, efforts of such writers as John Bodo, Charles C. Cole, and Timothy Smith.

DePauw University JAMES FINDLAY

THE GREAT NORTH TRAIL: AMERICA'S ROUTE OF THE AGES. By *Dan Cushman*. [The American Trails Series.] (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1966. Pp. 383. $7.95.)

DAN Cushman's "trail" is a wide swath starting at the Seward Peninsula of Alaska, moving along the Yukon, then south and east of the mountains, with one leg running into eastern Washington, and the other down Canada, through Montana and Wyoming, and into New Mexico and Texas. The route served as a migratory channel for plants and animals, including man, before the advent of written history. Historically, there was no "great north trail"; there were trails and routes, some of which sometimes followed or touched the paleontological path, and to these plural trails the author devotes most of his space.

Although the book's theme is conceptually unsound, it does give Cushman a chance to write about almost anything he chooses in the exploration and settlement of the West, and he usually chooses to write about such things as gold rushes, cattle wars, and shoot-outs. Historians will be surprised to find Henry

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Plummer, Cabeza de Vaca, O. C. Marsh, Jacques Cartier, the spoilers, and the Texas drovers all keeping company in a single "trail" book. Even a chapter on Marsh and E. D. Cope, which could have been written about the prehistoric route, is concerned mainly with the nasty competition in which the two scientists participated. The story has been told before, as have many of the stories in the volume.

The color and the author's engaging style may recruit for history some children and laymen, but the recruits will walk away from the book with certain questionable conclusions.

There are no footnotes, and a bibliographical essay begins: "At the age of fourteen I confessed to my father that I wanted to become a writer. . . ." After four autobiographical pages, Cushman explains that he "never bothered to set down the source of a single fact" until he agreed to write the book. Some thirty or so titles, most of them obvious, are mentioned. Because the author fails to credit directly the work of others on whom he has relied, it ill-behooves him to close the note by suggesting, on a subject tackled by another writer (whose name is misspelled), that "somebody swiped from somebody." It is doubtful that any responsible historian will want to "swipe" anything from this book.

University of California, Davis MORGAN B. SHERWOOD

HISTORY OF THE SIERRA NEVADA. By *Francis P. Farquhar.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press in collaboration with the Sierra Club. 1965. Pp. xiv, 262. $10.00.)

JOHN MUIR AND THE SIERRA CLUB: THE BATTLE FOR YOSEMITE. By *Holway R. Jones.* (San Francisco: Sierra Club. 1965. Pp. xvi, 207. $10.00.)

FARQUHAR's book is a concise history of "human experiences" in the Sierra Nevada from the Spanish occupation of California to the present with an emphasis upon events in the nineteenth century. The varied roles of the fur trappers, overland emigrants, gold seekers, railroad builders, scientists, sportsmen, and tourists are accurately and vividly portrayed. Among the separate chapters are those relating to Jedediah Smith's crossing of the Sierra, the Whitney geological survey, Clarence King's mountaineering, and John Muir's interpretation of the Sierra and his struggle to conserve its marvels. Two of the chapters give brief descriptions of the physical and geological features of the mountains, of their flora and fauna, and of the Indians who formerly lived there. The author has devoted several decades to study of the High Sierra and Yosemite. His intimate and prodigious knowledge enables him to present not only new information but to give many familiar facts fresh and innervating interpretations. While Farquhar purposely leaves out the Sierra foothills, he says little about the area between Donner Pass and Lassen Peak. More attention probably could have been given to developments since 1900. Notes and references at the end of each chapter are illuminating, at times even humorous, and have bibliographical value. A classic, the book is the best single volume on its subject, but it seems too compact.

Jones's book is partially based upon an expanded master's thesis in history of superior quality completed at the University of California, Berkeley. In 1892 a

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group of San Francisco Bay Area college professors and businessmen organized the Sierra Club to preserve the High Sierra. As a guardian for the Yosemite reservation, the club first fought efforts to reduce its boundaries. It also fought to keep Yosemite, once managed by a state board, under federal control. Half of the book is devoted to Hetch Hetchy, a valley often described before its utilization as a smaller counterpart of the Yosemite. The club lost the battle to prevent the damming and flooding of this area to supply water and power for San Francisco. An important chapter in the history of the Sierra Club, Jones's work is well researched and based upon archival records. Although the book is published by the club itself, the taint of an official history should not be given to this honest and objective study.

Both works are significant and needed contributions to the not too bountiful supply of good historical literature in book form on the High Sierra. They are, moreover, excellently illustrated by drawings, original photographs, and maps.

San Jose State College BENJAMIN F. GILBERT

THE GREAT AMERICAN DESERT: THEN AND NOW. By *W. Eugene Hollon*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 284. $6.00.)

THE Great American Desert, as described by Hollon, extends westward from about the hundredth meridian and contains some 900,000 square miles of land of deficient rainfall. Hollon bravely undertakes to survey the history of this area from its original inhabitants to contemporary politics in less than three hundred pages. The first half of the book carries the narrative to about 1900, including such topics as Indians, exploration, fur trade, Mormons, Plains travel, and land policy. Hollon quotes the pertinent comment of J. Frank Dobie that much history is only "moving dry bones from one graveyard to another," but at least the new grave is an attractive place, since Hollon writes well.

The second half of the book emphasizes the present. Particularly useful are the descriptions of farming methods and of efforts to save and utilize existing water. Somewhat surprising is the inclusion of a travelogue, complete with maps, of two trips by Hollon through the dry country. Equally surprising is the omission of any real historical treatment of such obviously important and relevant topics as the development of tourism and old-age retirement and the construction of military and atomic installations.

Hollon concludes that the growth of American population will necessitate an increasing use of the dry country, but that this area will never approach the population concentration of many other parts of the United States. Considerable areas will probably remain playgrounds, with a growth in tourism and homes for the retired. The area will continue to need large federal expenditures for such developments as parks, reclamation, power, military and atomic installations; such spending will be welcomed eagerly by the region in spite of an often stated conservatism that supports individual initiative and opposes federal intervention and control.

Texas Western College ROBERT E. RIEGEL

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THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS AND THE OPENING OF THE NORTHWEST. By *Alvin M. Josephy, Jr.* [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 10.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. xx, 705, 24 plates. $12.50.)

VARIOUS forces operating in the academic world have recently exerted an adverse effect on the traditions of thorough scholarship. It is no accident, perhaps, that this magnificent treatise did not come out of a university and owes nothing to government or foundation support. In the space of a brief review it is impossible to do justice to its many excellences.

Josephy has traced, from the time of Lewis and Clark to the final conquest of the Nez Percé in 1877, the relations of a fairly small tribe with white migrants in the Pacific Northwest and their government. Long before the Americans made contact with them the Nez Percé had achieved pre-eminence in animal husbandry and had found in their horses an export crop that they could barter with other tribes and Americans. They embraced much in American culture and were ready to accept a reduced domain, to abandon nomadic hunting, and to adapt themselves to a stable pastoral culture. It was their misfortune to own lands that were valuable for mining or agriculture and that lay athwart an important route between the upper Missouri and the Columbia. Along the path laid out by Lewis and Clark traveled a host of whites who looked upon the land, coveted it, and used their political power to get the Indians dislodged. Despite the liberal use of fraud, deceit, and atrocity, it took the United States a quarter of a century to accomplish its aggression.

The outlines of this sordid story have long been known, but Josephy has assembled a mass of new evidence that modifies earlier accounts and has shaped a craftsmanlike work that compels acceptance as well as admiration. Seemingly no incident is left unchronicled, no casualty unreported, as the federal government pursued its genocidal policy.

This, then, is a stunning case study in official racism. The Nez Percés fared neither better nor worse than many another tribe, and, if their experience has its unique features, it is still sufficiently typical to stand as an illustration of the Republican program of white supremacy in the West. From the record it would appear that Republicans were less efficient than were their Democratic contemporaries in the South.

In telling the Nez Percé story, Josephy offers overwhelming evidence of the incompetence of the federal government. Whether one views Lincoln's knavish governor of Idaho Territory or the army officers sent out to harass the tribe, one sees men inadequate for their tasks who compensated by resort to brutality, deceit, and mythmaking about the military prowess of the Nez Percé. Chief Joseph's people were not the supermen that official fable made them, but a pathetic remnant, enabled to prolong their desperate final flight only by the follies of the army. Burdened with noncombatant dependents and closely pursued by forces infinitely larger and better equipped, they managed to travel seventeen hundred miles and were ultimately induced to surrender only by false promises. At that

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point, a year after Custer's disaster, someone should have been asking what was wrong with the army.

Oberlin College THOMAS LEDUC

HALF-SUN ON THE COLUMBIA: A BIOGRAPHY OF CHIEF MOSES. By *Robert H. Ruby* and *John A. Brown*. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 80.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xix, 377. $5.95.)

JUDICIOUS use of government documents, private collections, newspapers, secondary works, and Indian memory has contributed to an excellent biography of this Columbia chief. In vivid prose, it depicts tension associated with the close of the frontier in the Pacific Northwest, and it is important because the critical years 1855–1895 are presented from the Indian viewpoint.

An able leader who understood the futility of warlike resistance to frontier advancement, Moses was the victim of humiliation by forces beyond Indian control. Unlike Joseph of the Nez Percé, who occasionally comes to the foreground in this volume, Moses persistently restrained the Columbias from breaking the peace. That he did so in the face of white men's cupidity, and of their false charges of the chief's complicity in murders committed by members of other tribes, was an extraordinary accomplishment.

Proud of his lineage and anxious about a successor, Moses never accepted assimilation into Anglo-American culture; his commitment to Indian ways, well illustrated in every chapter, was as firm as his avoidance of war. Moses was particularly intolerant of Catholic missionaries, and his stated preference for a boarding school was more likely a tactic of opposition to the government day school.

Although passive resistance, together with aid from General Howard, was effective in getting the Columbias a reservation apart from the Yakima and Colville, the tribe did not escape further white encroachment. General Miles was less a friend than General Howard, and Moses grasped at an annuity of a thousand dollars as part of a bargain for the Columbia reserve. The Columbias had never lived there, and the annuity replaced lease money from ranchers, which was commonly squandered in drinking and gambling. A reputation for sacrificing tribal interests to gratify personal pleasures reduced Moses' influence; his last years were spent on the Colville reserve near Joseph and a remnant of the Nez Percé who returned from Indian Territory, which later became Oklahoma.

Nearly all of the problems of Indian administration and white contact are reviewed, but there is one notable weakness: the authors reveal little understanding of governmental policy.

St. Olaf College HENRY E. FRITZ

THE JESUITS AND THE INDIAN WARS OF THE NORTHWEST. By *Robert Ignatius Burns, S.J.* [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 11.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 512. $10.00.)

WHEN a reviewer picks up a new book to read the preface and discovers that

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"Footnotes, like a cavalry escort to a westering caravan, are a disturbing presence, obtrusive, noisy, and dusty," he gains the refreshing feeling that while the footnotes may be a little dusty, the journey through the book will be a delightful experience. And so it has been. The author's prose is lucid, straightforward, and sprinkled with well-turned phrases.

This story of the Jesuits in the Northwest is well researched but never encyclopedic in approach. The list of archives visited is most impressive; one can only applaud such careful and comprehensive use of sources. Much new manuscript material is presented: the Kalispell Council of I. I. Stevens in 1856, the role of Agent John Owens in the wars of 1858–1859, and the dispositions of the plateau tribes during the Nez Percé War. The author comments on "how little has been done in depth" in Indian history, but he certainly escapes that criticism.

The work is organized around the major events of wars and treaty councils. The first two chapters deal with the worlds of red men and white, particularly with the Jesuit and the red man. A large portion of the book is devoted to the wars and councils of 1858–1859, including the treaties with the Flathead, Blackfoot, and the northern Columbia Plateau Indians. After a special look at the Steptoe Disaster, the author carries the reader along the road leading to the Nez Percé War and its aftermath of suffering and disillusionment.

A well-balanced approach is taken toward the role of Jesuit missionaries in Northwest Indian affairs. The Jesuit fathers are judiciously appraised both for worthy deeds and dedicated effort as well as for shortcomings. The two great leaders, Joset and De Smet, have prominent places in the story, but many others appear on the scene to contribute their share to the betterment of the interior tribes. The respect, gratitude, and love of the Indians for their Jesuit mentors serve to emphasize the devotion and untiring efforts of the fathers.

I have often criticized monographs dealing with accounts of Indian wars, but I can only praise Robert Ignatius Burns and the Yale University Press for this excellent book. It should serve as a model for any future writers of Indian history.

University of Utah BRIGHAM MADSEN

WAR DRUMS AND WAGON WHEELS: THE STORY OF RUSSELL, MAJORS AND WADDELL. By *Raymond W. Settle* and *Mary Lund Settle*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1966. Pp. x, 268. $5.95.)

FIFTEEN years ago the Settles wrote the story of Russell, Majors and Waddell (*Empire on Wheels* [1949]) based upon the William B. Waddell Papers and other original sources. They have again presented the account, under a new title and with a different press, but this is basically the same book. The latest version is a rewritten, reorganized draft that includes occasional references to printed material published since the 1949 edition. There is no readily apparent evidence of important new source materials being incorporated or of any significant changes in the original conception.

The history of this interesting transportation firm concerns the rise of contract military freighting, the company's involvement in it, and the great part it played in hauling army supplies for the Mormon "war" of 1857. In a chapter entitled

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"The Great Contract of 1858" the authors detail the difficulties that arose out of the Utah effort, particularly the financial embarrassments that developed over the Floyd acceptances, and the background for later fiscal disaster.

The efforts of William H. Russell to capitalize on the Pike's Peak boom by starting a stage line to Colorado are also outlined. Although his partners in the freighting firm disapproved of the scheme and thought it a poor risk, they plunged into the venture in the autumn of 1859, at a time when their earlier judgment was beginning to prove correct. After persuading his partners to join him in the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company, Russell turned to the romantic but financially risky pony express venture of 1860. Before the year was out Russell was in jail, charged with complicity involving some "misplaced" government bonds, and the firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell was near the end of its financial road. Within the next few months the pony express experiment ended with the completion of a transcontinental telegraph line, and Ben Holladay took over the COC and PP, by then known to the man on the street as the "Clear Out of Cash and Poor Pay."

This latest presentation of the Settles' study does not fill the gaps that remain in the story of wagon freighting, but it does provide a new generation of students with copies of an account that has been out of print.

University of Colorado ROBERT G. ATHEARN

LEE. By *Clifford Dowdey*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1965. Pp. xiv, 781. $12.50.)

CLIFFORD Dowdey's life of Lee runs to over 750 pages of narrative and bibliography. Scholars and general readers who are confronted by this imposing accomplishment are likely to ask: Why a new book on Lee? What could Douglas S. Freeman have left unsaid?

Dowdey anticipates the questions in his foreword. Since the appearance of Freeman's monumental work, he writes, many new source and secondary materials have come to light. As a notable example he cites the George Bolling Lee Collection of over two hundred letters, most of them written before the Civil War. A new biography that would incorporate this material was needed, an account that would be less comprehensive and less military than Freeman's. A fresh interpretation could remove Lee from the "delimiting frame" of the war, place him in the "context of the total history of the Republic," and reveal that he was a tragic figure in the "evolutionary stage of nationalism which is still in the process of change."

As credentials for his ambitious design, Dowdey could present his previous publication record—two general histories of the Confederacy, studies of three of Lee's campaigns, and at least one good war novel. All of Dowdey's works have been marked by certain characteristics: a sprightly literary style that often rises to the level of distinction; a profound knowledge of the Confederate side of an episode; a keen insight into the complexities of people; and a dogmatism of opinion that is sometimes admirable and at other times irritating. Perhaps because he is also a novelist, Dowdey has at times presented history as a conflict between

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"heroes" and "villains." The technique increases the drama of his story, but sometimes distorts history.

All these strengths and weaknesses appear in this book. Large sections of it deserve high praise. The account of Lee's family background, of the great ruling clans of Virginia's plantation society, is especially good. The portrait of the youthful Lee is sensitively drawn and adds to our understanding of the man who has eluded so many biographers. Lee was a "work of art" at the age of twenty, Dowdey suggests, a being with no "unresolved inner conflicts." This work, this perfection of a model, had been created by Lee himself, on "a design of moral concepts." Perhaps so, but Dowdey's own evidence suggests that one explanation for the iron self-discipline Lee always imposed on himself was the result of a determination to avoid the excesses that had ruined the lives of his father and an older half brother.

Also good are the approximately 450 pages dealing with the war. These are the heart of the book, and the length and excellence of this section prove that Dowdey, for all his intentions, has not removed Lee from the frame of the war. This is as it should be. Lee belongs in a military context. His great significance as a southern and an American figure derives from his association with war. Dowdey does not add much to our factual knowledge of Lee as a soldier, but he compresses what is known into a highly readable and intelligent account. And he sprinkles the account with some valuable comments on Lee's generalship. His analysis of Lee's concept of staff, for example, is as good a thing as we have in the war's literature.

Some of the author's previous favorite villains appear in the war section: Jefferson Davis, the "made article" as contrasted to Lee the natural patrician; Longstreet; and Beauregard. Dowdey shows his customary skill in cutting them all down to size. But the chief villain does not emerge until the chapters on the postwar years. He is the Radical Republican faction of Reconstruction. The Radicals are brought in as a foil to Lee the man of moderation who epitomizes the old Union based on a "mutuality of interest." Presumably Dowdey felt that he had to do this to show Lee's involvement in the "evolutionary stage of nationalism." The attempt is pretentious, does not come off, and should have been left untried. A more meaningful interpretation of Lee as a figure of Reconstruction would be of a man who preached the necessity of discipline to a people who found it hard to discipline themselves.

Dowdey might have rested his case for his work on a single basis: no really good, modern, one-volume biography of Lee was available. Dowdey's book answers the need, if not in full, certainly in large part.

Louisiana State University T. Harry Williams

LINCOLN'S PREPARATION FOR GREATNESS: THE ILLINOIS LEGISLATIVE YEARS. By *Paul Simon*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 335. $6.95.)

This is the most thorough study yet made of Abraham Lincoln's four terms in the Illinois legislature (1834–1841). The author, a newspaper publisher and mem-

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ber of the Illinois Senate, has made comprehensive use of the sources. He treats the legislative process with professional skill, and his judgments are almost invariably sound. Yet in one important respect the book is distressingly amateurish. Mr. Simon apparently could not bring himself to leave anything out, and there are consequently too many pages of rambling chronicle heavily burdened with trivial details. One can appreciate, for instance, the author's determination to examine every vote cast by Lincoln in the General Assembly, but not his readiness to unload such data promiscuously on the reader. The cataloguing of bills becomes increasingly wearisome, even though someone, somewhere, will no doubt be interested in the fact that Lincoln opposed a fifty-cent bounty for wolves' scalps "with the ears thereon," or that he supported a proposal to reduce the pay of jurors from seventy-five to fifty cents a day.

The better parts of the book are of considerable value, however, and there is some acute analysis of historical evidence. Simon demolishes the traditional story that removal of the state capital from Vandalia to Springfield was achieved by vigorous logrolling, with Lincoln masterfully directing the project. He also shows how Lincoln blindly supported the prodigal program of internal improvements that nearly bankrupted the state. A useful chapter near the end summarizes Lincoln's stand on a great variety of issues, such as banking, education, executive authority, and taxation. Simon concludes that Lincoln was honest and popular, but not a creative or outstanding legislator. These were the years, he says, when the prairie youth "learned practical politics and found he enjoyed it." But that scarcely tells us anything new about the source of Lincoln's eventual greatness. The book ends as it began, without the conceptual structure to match the promise of its title.

Stanford University DON E. FEHRENBACHER

LOG CABIN TO LUTHER TOWER: CONCORDIA SEMINARY DURING ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE YEARS. TOWARD A MORE EXCELLENT MINISTRY, 1839–1964. By *Carl S. Meyer.* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House. 1965. Pp. xi, 322. $7.95.)

WHAT was to become Concordia Seminary began as a rural school with eleven pupils, aged five to twelve. Recently accredited by the AATS, it now is the Missouri Synod Lutherans' leading academy, with an enrollment of 570 adults. *Log Cabin to Luther Tower* is the well-written and thoroughly documented history of Concordia, based on diligent research in the old minutes and records.

The book should be of interest beyond the confines of the Missouri Synod. It is, among other things, a study in acculturation. Not until this century was English widely used, and if the organization of a baseball team be a criterion, one may say that the seminary became "Americanized" in 1910. The author links this process with moral deterioration: "Defiance and lack of cooperation, moral breaches, and disregard of regulations give evidence after about 1908 of a deteriorating condition which accompanied the process of Americanization." Educational administrators will envy the long tenure of Franz Pieper, president for

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fifty-three years. Seminary professors will be interested in curricular developments and will not be surprised by the increasing demand for practical courses. Of special interest to historians of American Christian thought is Concordia's great emphasis on Lutheran orthodoxy, and, good sport that he is, Professor Meyer quotes some devastating comments. Isolated from modern currents of thought, Concordia denounced Wellhausen's documentary hypothesis at the turn of the century, and those who think that Machen was the last of the responsible adherents of the doctrine of verbal inspiration will be surprised to find that the faculty affirmed this doctrine as late as 1960. One feels that Concordia shared more in Melanchthon's obsession for orthodoxy than in Luther's concern for trust.

London, England EMIL OBERHOLZER

LIGHTHOUSE OF THE SKIES. THE SMITHSONIAN ASTROPHYSICAL OBSERVATORY: BACKGROUND AND HISTORY, 1846–1955. By *Bessie Zaban Jones*. [Smithsonian Publication 4612.]. (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1965. Pp. xv, 339. $5.00.)

THE government of the United States now spends roughly a half billion dollars each year on research in geophysics and astronomy and on unmanned lunar and planetary studies. With sounding rockets, earth satellites, and deep space probes we are exploring the solar system, an adventure perhaps even more exciting than that other epic of our times, the exploration of the atomic nucleus. Those who seek the history of the scientific disciplines at the center of this great quest for knowledge will find the present volume disappointing. Although the subtitle emphasizes "backgrounds," we are not prepared to hear once again the old story of the Smithson bequest, to review the careers of Joseph Henry and Spencer Fullerton Baird, and to endure long chapters on Samuel P. Langley's aeronautics experiments and on Robert H. Goddard's work to develop modern rocketry. About 57 per cent of the book is devoted to these subjects, which belong only remotely or tangentially to the history of the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory.

The Smithsonian would have been better served by one or two tight articles that would explain what Langley, first director of the observatory, and his successors were trying to do and how well they succeeded as scientists and administrators. Instead, the Smithsonian has an uncritical, institutionally self-conscious account that fails to place the work of the observatory in the perspective of what was being done elsewhere in the United States and abroad. The relevant sections jog along from report to report, letter to letter, with frequent long quotations and diversions for chatty detail.

Despite its let-us-now-praise-famous-men approach, the volume compels us to infer that the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory was not a success story. Able and devoted scientists pursued their specialty, the measurement of variations in solar radiation, but although they won respect for meticulous work, they did not convince others that they had demonstrated a correlation with meteorological phenomena. As administrators, they never were able to achieve adequate financing, and by the 1950's it was possible to assure the future of the observatory only by

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arranging a physical association with the Harvard College Observatory in Cambridge. If this inference is correct, why not say so directly and explain why?

Bethesda, Maryland OSCAR E. ANDERSON, JR.

LIGHT ON THE HILL: A HISTORY OF TUFTS COLLEGE 1852–1952. By *Russell E. Miller.* (Boston: Beacon Press. 1966. Pp. xviii, 734. $10.00.)

DESPITE Frederick Rudolph's rich suggestions for interinstitutional studies (in the bibliographical essay of his *The American College and University*), most new work in academic history continues to deal with single institutions. One thus welcomes a little grudgingly another example of the traditional genre, even when so competently executed as Professor Miller's.

This history brings Tufts from its chartering in 1852, the first college founded by Universalists, to the age of contract research and the foundation supported self-study. Several matters are carried as far as 1965. At times, notably in the cases of admissions requirements and medical school standards, Miller adroitly sets developments at Tufts in educational context. He does not scant the professional schools, as most university histories do. Tufts, which was remarkably willing to adopt isolated special schools, eventually included all the usual ones except law, and several unusual ones. At worst this tendency was mere institutional aggrandizement. At best it evidenced the aim, expressed by President Elmer Hewitt Capen, of substituting the "philosophic spirit" for "the commercial and groveling desires which are too apt to engross [professional school] members." Capen is one of the presidents whose portraits here emerge lifelike and attractive. Others are Hosea Ballou 2d, a one-man theological school before becoming first president of Tufts, and John Albert Cousens, a businessman alumnus who proved antibureaucratic and educationally imaginative, while dutifully improving finances.

This is no company history, yet at times Miller's sympathies for Tufts obtrude. Witness his declaration that "no cases involving the issue of infringement of academic freedom at the College were ever recorded," when his own description of the dismissal in 1918 of Professor Karl Schmidt, an enemy alien, indicates the contrary. But perhaps "cases" are "recorded" only when there is protest.

Miller reports fully what the archives have to tell, including some trivialities. His metaphors are sometimes uncontrolled ("In the last analysis, the College was reaping the bitter harvest of a vicious cycle"), and he lacks economy of phrase. Even granting its special obligations to the interests of a select institutional readership, the book is much too long. As is generally the case with college histories, either from sentiment or subvention, this one did not get the stern editing it needed.

Amherst College HUGH HAWKINS

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN IN NEW MEXICO, 1854–1891. By *Victor Westphall.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 212. $5.00.)

LAND has been at the heart of disputes, chicanery, murder, and even outright war from the time Americans first acquired the New Mexico Territory in 1848. Even

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though the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo guaranteed the title rights of former Mexican citizens, the unsurveyed public domain and the large grants and small holdings given by previous governments constituted rich lures for the increasing number of Anglo-American migrants. This book traces the efforts of promoters, cattlemen, and bona fide farmers to acquire these prizes from the appointment of the first surveyor general of New Mexico in 1854, through the impacts of the various federal land acts during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

In large measure, this is a study of policy and results, of changes in surveyors general and their difficulties in carrying out their tasks under laws not suitable for the West. As Walter P. Webb and various western historians have verified by research in other locales, this led to a general disregard for the law, a rebellion of sensible people against an impossible land-parceling system. The acquisition of land by illegal means dominates each chapter of this study. The notorious "Santa Fe Ring," composed of promoters, attorneys, and officials, gained thousands of acres through bribery and taking advantage of vague descriptions of grants. Stock raisers, government officeholders, and homesteaders were just as dishonest, and indictments were returned against some of the area's most prominent citizens.

Perhaps this book would be more interesting to the general reader if the author had articulated his study with experiences in other states and the general development of the West. But it is invaluable for persons tracing the development of the territory. The text is buttressed by a fifty-seven-page, twelve-part appendix with tables and statistics for all the uses for which land was acquired, and nineteen maps showing the exact sections surveyed by various surveyors general. Needless to add, the subject has been thoroughly researched, and the bibliography is complete, a tribute to the author's indefatigable scholarship.

University of Texas JIM B. PEARSON

SOCIAL SCIENCES AT HARVARD, 1860–1920: FROM INCULCATION TO THE OPEN MIND. By *Robert L. Church et al.* Edited, with a preface, by *Paul Buck*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 320. $6.95.)

THIS collection of essays examines, on the departmental level, some of the intellectual and institutional developments that transformed Harvard from a college to a university. Five essays by graduate students in Dr. Paul Buck's seminar on "Topics in the Intellectual Development of the American University, 1860–1920," discuss the evolution and sometimes the relationship between what are identified as social sciences: economics by Robert L. Church; social ethics by David B. Potts; history by Carol F. Baird; psychology by Sheldon M. Stern; and education by Arthur G. Powell. There is a question as to whether the subject of this last essay is suited to a book about social science. Missing, and much needed, is a treatment of the teaching of government and political science.

An introductory essay, representative of the combined efforts of the contributors, struggles to integrate what was happening in the individual departments. Among its conclusions are that in the sixty years under review "no new synthesis emerged to replace the Common Sense philosophers' single definition of man to

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which all members of the faculty," prior to the Civil War, had been able to adhere; and that the university by 1920 "no longer taught the answer; it suggested possible answers."

A significant feature of this volume is its microcosmic approach to the evolution of a social science curriculum. Emphasis upon historical and developmental aspects of social science is relatively rare compared to the number of essays centered on social science theory. The Harvard College Archives, as used by Buck's graduate students, indicate not a little intra- and interdepartmental conflict over curriculum organization and content which had an inevitable effect upon disciplinary organization. In presenting the minutiae of this situation, the contributors have done their job well.

Less satisfactory, however, are the implications of the volume beyond Harvard. Buck's preface stresses the relevance of what was happening in the departments to the administration of President Charles W. Eliot, "the decisions that underlay the development of the modern university." Despite Buck's conclusion, however, that the Harvard experience "was far from typical," the book would have been more valuable if developments at Harvard were related to what was going on at other universities and in the social sciences generally. Finally, the term social science is less defined than taken for granted, and the subtitle seems to suggest that social science does not breed its own dogmas.

Dartmouth College EDWARD N. SAVETH

JOHN ROACH, MARITIME ENTREPRENEUR: THE YEARS AS NAVAL CONTRACTOR, 1862–1886. By *Leonard Alexander Swann, Jr.* (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute. 1965. Pp. xv, 301. $7.50.)

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ISHERWOOD, NAVAL ENGINEER: THE YEARS AS ENGINEER IN CHIEF, 1861–1869. By *Edward William Sloan III.* (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute. 1965. Pp. xiii, 299. $7.50.)

So closely are the shipbuilder and naval engineer intermeshed that these books from the same publisher might well be boxed and offered as a set. Neither writer attempts a full biography, but rather an examination in depth of the most significant core years in the long life of his subject.

In John Roach, brought back from virtual oblivion, we have a classic illustration of the unschooled, penniless immigrant soaring to become a giant of American industry. Roach achieved his commanding position through ability, shrewdness, timing, and political acumen. He also produced good machinery and good ships. His business enterprises were built upon a vertical integration concept, that is, control by Roach from raw materials to finished ship. In this regard he was somewhat in advance of his time and achieved economies that allowed his bids on government work to be more than competitive.

Benjamin Isherwood was the brilliant, demanding, tactless, philosophical engineer in chief of the US Navy. His experimentation, steam theories, and writings earned him admirers but more defamers in the scientific community. He became embroiled in a public controversy with the equally caustic inventor, John Ericsson. As head of the navy's Bureau of Steam Engineering, Isherwood was responsible

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for design and performance of propulsion machinery for ships of the huge Union fleets and the ever-shrinking postwar navy. Engines designed by Isherwood were generally excellent.

Roach and Isherwood endured more than a full measure of abuse in the legislative halls and the press. Roach's contract awards fired off partisan cries of favoritism and corruption and the inevitable congressional investigations. Isherwood was in the thick of the navy's bitter staff corps-line officer struggle in which his major antagonist was the formidable Vice-Admiral David Dixon Porter. While this "in house" Navy Department fight raged, an indifferent public watched its sea strength dwindle to impotence. Sometimes Roach and Isherwood pulled on the same end of the rope, and again they stood opposed as on the question of steel versus iron hulls for the first ships of the "New Navy."

Both of these books leave no doubt that they are thorough, finely written, professional contributions with notable bibliographies. I would have preferred Mr. Swann's statistical tables, informative as they are, appended to rather than protruding from his narrative. And I would have wished that Sloan had stopped looking through Isherwood's eyes long enough so as not to equate irrevocably "Naval line officer" with "reactionary." The United States Naval Institute's book list grows increasingly impressive, and these two entries add to the luster.

US Navy Department WILLIAM J. MORGAN

THE POLITICS OF RECONSTRUCTION 1863–1867. By *David Donald*. [The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, Louisiana State University.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. xviii, 105. $4.00.)

THIS is an attempt to solve old problems with new techniques. A thorough master and a distinguished user of traditional methods, Mr. Donald first demonstrates in persuasive and witty fashion the failures and frustrations of conventional scholarship in Reconstruction history. He singles out as a notable instance the failure to explain Republican factionalism in Congress and the ineffectuality of efforts to account for the difference between Radicals, Moderates, and Conservatives in terms of personality, motivation, ideology, geographical background, economic or social status, or any other basis. Calling for "a fresh general approach to the entire Reconstruction era," he undertakes to employ "techniques more frequently used in behavioral sciences" in an analysis of Republican factionalism in the House of Representatives.

By means of six roll calls on Reconstruction issues in the Thirty-eighth Congress and six in the Thirty-ninth, he identifies fifty Radical Republicans in the former and seventy-two in the latter. Pronouncing any generalization about the personality, ideology, or background of these men hopeless, he proposes a new formula: "Radicalism was a function of party strength," a hypothesis he states alternatively as "the more heavily a district voted Republican, the more surely its Representative would support Radical measures in Congress." The first test proved disappointing, since it was found that the seventy-two Radicals in the

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Thirty-ninth Congress were elected in 1864 by an average vote of 59.3 per cent, but that the thirty-two Moderates received an average vote of 59.2 per cent.

Undaunted by this "melancholy experience with the eccentricities of data" (as V. O. Key once put it), he decides that because of numerous factors that can only be evaluated on a local level, "it is best to study the relationship between Republican factional affiliation and voting strength in individual states, or regional groups of states." As sample states he chooses New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Indiana. A graph of the average percentage of votes received by Reconstruction congressmen of New York gives striking support to his thesis, with Radicals scoring in the 60's, Moderates in the lower 50's, and Conservatives in the 40's. Pennsylvania data are not quite so obliging, but "generally fall into the same pattern." Similarly he finds that the election returns from Massachusetts and, "in a rough way," those of Indiana also support his thesis. Granting that the formula does not always apply, he nevertheless concludes that "voting behavior in New England, the Middle States, and the Middle West conforms to a general pattern."

Donald is careful to concede that "there were a great many individual and local eccentricities" in all these regions and that "within any single Middle Western state the symmetry of this pattern is likely to be marred" by individual peculiarities. Because of the peculiarities of one congressman from Illinois and another from Ohio he feels justified in omitting them from his calculations. If they are included, however, it appears that the four Illinois Moderates and Conservatives polled an average of 60.3 per cent of the vote in 1864 and the five Radicals only 55.6 per cent; while the eight non-Radicals of Ohio nosed out the seven Radicals by a narrower margin. Michigan, another strong Republican state, elected only one Moderate in 1864, but he scored 58.9 per cent compared with the average of 55 per cent polled by the five Radicals. It would seem fair to conclude that while the hypothesis works fairly well in New England and the Middle States, it encounters difficulties in the Middle West and, as the author frankly admits, does not work at all when universally applied.

The author mentions in passing another indicator of party strength, but, perhaps for want of space, does not follow it up or test it. This is the power to reelect an incumbent. Applying the tenure test to the Republicans elected in 1864, one finds that 56 per cent of the Radicals and only 39 per cent of the Moderates and Conservatives had been previously elected in 1862. Of those elected in 1866 it appears that 40 per cent of the Radicals and only 30 per cent of the Moderates and Conservatives had been regularly re-elected since 1862. These tests show an advantage of 17 per cent in one and 10 per cent in the other in favor of relating Radicalism in Congress to party strength in the districts. The tenure indicator of party strength offers somewhat firmer support for the thesis than the popular vote indicator, and since it is applied universally it has the added advantage of avoiding the risks inherent in selecting samples.

The final chapter is entitled "The Pendulum of Legislation." His study of factionalism has persuaded the author that the legislative process "can best be analyzed in quantitative, almost mechanistic, terms." By an ingenious series of graphs a pendulum is shown swinging back and forth between left and right and coming to rest at center. The pendulum is an imaginative metaphor, but it sug-

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gests a more mechanistic conception of human behavior and political history than those "eccentricities of data" ordinarily support or the author himself ordinarily entertains.

Yale University C. VANN WOODWARD

A WEBFOOT VOLUNTEER: THE DIARY OF WILLIAM M. HILLEARY, 1864–1866. Edited by *Herbert B. Nelson* and *Preston E. Onstad*. [Oregon State Monographs. Studies in History, Number 5.] (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press in cooperation with the Oregon Historical Society. 1965. Pp. viii, 240. $6.00.)

THE diary of William M. Hilleary illuminates a phase of the Civil War in the Pacific Northwest by detailing the activities of Oregon volunteers who protected the roads from Idaho to the Columbia River against marauding Indians after Appomattox. It also restates the plight of many Pacific Coast volunteers. These men saw their contribution to the defense of the Union reduced to policing Indians and rebel sympathizers as well as fighting cold and hunger, military routine, ignorant officers, and themselves, to an extent that made these battles no less real than the celebrated campaigns of the conflict in the East. Hilleary's record of Company F, First Oregon Infantry, covers the nineteen months from December 1864 to July 1866. Together with Royal A. Bensell's *Journal* which accounts for the preceding thirty-one months and John M. Drake's "Cavalry in the Indian Country, 1864," it brings us closer to a complete diary of Civil War Oregon. Hilleary's entries enhance our understanding of the situation in the Northwest from the Coast Range and the Willamette Valley to Oregon's eastern border and enrich our knowledge of Boise life during its early stages as capital of Idaho Territory. Although portions of Hilleary's experience appeared in different form as reminiscences of army life during the 1880's, the publication of the original diary provides more than just insights into military and political affairs. It illuminates aspects of social life not readily available in book form.

The editors' introduction and notes place the account into the conventional framework of regional Civil War history that in time-honored fashion has volunteers struggle with secesh and Indians. They unfortunately do little to place the document within the context of other sources, fail to utilize pertinent materials (even the *DAB* articles on Benjamin Alvord, Caleb Lyon, and Frederick Steele), and by-pass the aids offered by related disciplines, which reveal the dimensions of the diary.

University of California, Berkeley GUNTHER BARTH

MISSOURI UNDER RADICAL RULE, 1865–1870. By *William E. Parrish*. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 385. $7.00.)

PICKING up where his study of Missouri in wartime left off, William E. Parrish presents, in this clearly written volume, a thesis strangely akin to what he says he is arguing against. His preface tells us that he hopes, by stressing the economic and educational advances fostered by the Radical Republicans between 1865 and

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1870, "to restore a balanced picture of Missouri under Radical rule." Yet the portrait he paints is strikingly similar to the traditional view of the Radicals. Led by Charles Daniel Drake, "a skilled demagogue and opportunist," the group rode into political power on the coattails of the Union military victories. They pushed through the state constitution of 1865, which was ratified by a majority of but 1,862 votes out of 85,478 cast, and then embarked upon a program of "vindictiveness." But in the midst of their triumph the Radicals laid the groundwork for their own eventual destruction. Elected a United States senator, Drake insisted upon enfranchising Negroes first and former Confederates later. "Herein," Parrish informs us, "lay the seeds of the eventual dissolution of the Radical party." In 1870 and 1871, with the election of B. Gratz Brown, a Liberal Republican, to the governorship and Frank Blair, a Democrat, to the Senate seat vacated by Drake, the forces of moderation triumphed. The Radical era ended.

This study is interesting and provocative, but is essentially political and something less than revisionist. Disfranchisement, ironclad oaths, and acts that Parrish characterizes as "extreme measures" seem, in retrospect, mild enough for a state that for four years had been torn by internecine war. But the most surprising thing about the book is that, if its argument is correct, Missouri's postwar political development differed markedly from that elsewhere. In such southern states as Virginia, Alabama, and Georgia and such midwestern commonwealths as Iowa, political events were determined as much by outsiders who desired to tap the region's wealth and resources as by local leaders. Financial plums from the state legislature and national government and access to much of the West were undoubtedly important in Missouri politics. From the Papers of John A. Kasson and Grenville M. Dodge in Des Moines, the Levi O. Leonard Collection of the Papers of Thomas C. Durant in Iowa City, the James F. Joy Papers in Detroit, and the letters of other railroad men deeply interested in Missouri, the author might possibly have learned where the Radicals and Liberal Republicans obtained financial support, what was promised to whom, and who got what.

Queens College STANLEY P. HIRSHSON

THE POSITIVE THINKERS: A STUDY OF THE AMERICAN QUEST FOR HEALTH, WEALTH AND PERSONAL POWER FROM MARY BAKER EDDY TO NORMAN VINCENT PEALE. By *Donald Meyer.* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1965. Pp. 358. $4.95.)

PROFESSOR Meyer, whose work on the social gospel has identified him as a scholar of unusual range and perceptiveness, now assesses the place of "mind cure" psychologies in recent American culture. The various mind cure prescriptions have promised the seeker of health or success or serenity that he can achieve these things if he will attune his mind to a superconscious realm. Meyer deals with a small army of writers who have, among them, explored all possible relationships of body, mind, the subconscious, and the infinite, and who have offered to repair every known disability from obesity to bankruptcy.

Despite the book's apparent comprehensiveness, Meyer cautions us that he has been selective rather than panoramic. In particular, he has frequently left the "in-

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ternal history" of mind cure ideas to other writers and has concerned himself with the social history of those ideas. He therefore makes extended and usually quite fascinating excursions into the cultural terrain surrounding his main subject—into such areas as reform, imperialism, the histories of medicine and psychology, and the ideology and practice of laissez-faire capitalism.

Meyer will not be persuasive to even the more self-critical adherents of such movements as Unity and Christian Science, who may well feel that his concentration upon the sociology rather than the substance of their thought tends to condemn the thought out of hand. His probings into "the troubled souls of females" and the "empty adventure" of liberal Protestantism will provoke dissent among students of feminism and the modernist movement. And the author, in spite of some kind words for Bruce Barton, may have to write off the business vote as well.

But this critic of Dale Carnegie is concerned less about winning friends than about saying what he thinks. What he thinks, moreover, is as compassionate as it is forthright. His picture of Americans shows them not as querulous Jobs or Ahabs but as bewildered rich young rulers. Having gone through all the motions and spiritual exercises prescribed by their heritage, having in fact attained what was supposed to feel like success, they have continued to ask anxiously what they can do to be saved. The answer of mind cure, according to Meyer, has been that the seeker should avoid any really demanding encounters with the world and should find ways to believe that he has conquered the hencoop of his own body and soul. "It was the genius of mind cure," Meyer writes, "to discover how the weak might feel strong while remaining weak."

Failures of clarity and occasional infelicities of style impede the full realization of these themes. But this is an important, provocative, and most valuable study.

American University WILLIAM R. HUTCHISON

THE LIFE & DEATH OF JOHN HENRY TUNSTALL: THE LETTERS, DIARIES & ADVENTURES OF AN ITINERANT ENGLISHMAN SUPPLEMENTED WITH OTHER DOCUMENTS & ANNOTATIONS. Compiled and edited by *Frederick W. Nolan.* ([Albuquerque:] University of New Mexico Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 480. $6.00.)

JOHN Henry Tunstall, patrician young son of an affluent London merchant, arrived in New York in August 1872. He was bound for Victoria, British Columbia, to work for three years in the family store and then, according to the plan, to return to London and a gentleman's life in the family firm. Intelligent, receptive, articulate, he moved on across the continent, one more English traveler viewing the land, but one far less grumpy than the usual Britisher. In Victoria he learned the mercantile trade, thought of raising sheep in the Aleutians, then shifted directions to California. His father consented to support him, and in February 1876 he left for southern California, briefly considered Australia, and finally turned inland to New Mexico, and to cattle. In August 1876 he reached Sante Fe. Eager to acquire land and cattle and eager to please his father, he circled over much of

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New Mexico seeking a likely old Spanish land grant to purchase. He finally bought into the public domain in Lincoln County. His father advanced him ten thousand dollars, and he bought a ranch and a store. He intended to "get the half of every dollar that is made in the county *by anyone*." The Lincoln County frontier seems to have evoked an audacity and an aggressiveness in him. He came closer and closer to violence, possibly because this violent frontier at the time of his arrival was tense with strife between two mercantile-rancher factions. Tunstall gradually became associated with one of them, and on February 18, 1876, he was murdered by riders in a "posse" of dubious legality. His murder intensified the greedy and savage feuding in the county. Official investigations, hearings, and a welter of testimony over Tunstall's fate revealed much about the intricacies of New Mexico politics and of the territory's economic and social structure.

Roughly 150 pages of this story are the editor's fine narrative; these serve as introduction, connective, and annotation for (roughly) 300 pages of documents, most of them Tunstall's letters home. The editing is magnificently thorough; the book is beautifully bound and printed. This is a major work on New Mexican frontier history.

Louisiana State University BURL NOGGLE

CULTURE AND DEMOCRACY: THE STRUGGLE FOR FORM IN SOCIETY AND ARCHITECTURE IN CHICAGO AND THE MIDDLE WEST DURING THE LIFE AND TIMES OF LOUIS H. SULLIVAN. By *Hugh Dalziel Duncan.* ([Totowa, N. J.:] Bedminster Press. 1965. Pp. xxii, 616. $12.50.)

THE theme of this disjointed book is Sullivan's place within the diverse "pragmatisms" of the Chicago School of thought around the turn of the century and after. Sullivan's "functionalism," Veblen's "instinct of workmanship," Dewey's "instrumentalism," Mead's "consummatory phase of the act," and Cooley's "sympathetic understanding" are all "pragmatic" points of view, or variants thereof, which emphasize the roles of art and science. In fact, Professor Duncan goes so far as to maintain that "The Chicago School[s] of Philosophy . . . Sociology and Education . . . [were] born in the Chicago School of Architecture." The statement is something of an exaggeration, but Duncan does trace those themes in Sullivan's early writings which are common to the work of the others. As such, the core of this book partially overlaps, but complements and extends Sherman Paul's recent *Louis Sullivan: An Architect in American Thought.*

The author wisely emphasizes the extraordinary manner in which money and civic endeavor meshed in Chicago through activities ranging from Mrs. Potter Palmer's charity balls to President Harper's exhortations to his faculty urging that they be concerned with contemporary problems. This pervasive awareness of the need to make both art and thought relevant to the present situation accounted for William James's surprise at "the great sense of concrete reality with which [the cultural achievement of Chicago] was filled." It also accounted for its communitarian aspects, a quality of thought in Chicago of which James was also aware.

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Once Duncan has discussed parallels between Sullivan's ideas and those of certain of his contemporaries, and once he has made some allusive, but helpful, suggestions as to why the Chicago environment produced so much of value in American culture around the turn of the century, his book loses interest. A section on the origin and development of the Chicago School of Architecture in the 1870's and 1880's is for the most part secondhand material brushed over lightly. There follows the usual account of the Columbian Exposition; the final one hundred pages are devoted to a running précis of Sullivan's later writings.

A sociologist by profession, Duncan is most at home in the sociological implications of the achievements he discusses. Architectural historians will appreciate his valor, while finding his observations on architecture trite and uncertain. As Duncan complains in a footnote, the fault may be with the lack of vivid architectural criticism. In any event, there is eventually no way of getting around the fact that Sullivan was an architect, and that his writings alone are insufficient to explain his perplexing role in American culture, more ambiguous than that of any other American architect.

Brown University WILLIAM H. JORDY

LABOR REVOLT IN ALABAMA: THE GREAT STRIKE OF 1894. By *Robert David Ward* and *William Warren Rogers*. [Southern Historical Publication, Number 9.] (University: University of Alabama Press. 1965. Pp. 172. $5.95.)

THIS neatly made monograph is written with economy, clarity, and even a certain amount of grace. Professors Ward and Rogers have handled a difficult research problem successfully and have demonstrated once more the value of local newspapers for the formative period before the labor movement began to generate an adequate permanent record. The book will surely stand as the final word on the Alabama miners' strike of 1894.

The question that comes to mind, of course, is whether that event calls for a definitive monograph. The authors themselves observe that, considered as an ordinary industrial dispute, "the Alabama strike would remain an isolated provincial example of labor unrest. . . ." They find its importance in its southern locale. The usual causes of industrial war "were compounded by the convict lease system and volatile racial animosity. Here, in 1894, the political movement of agrarian reform joined with the cause of the proletariat to produce a turbulent upheaval." Having made that promising start, however, Ward and Rogers proceed to a conventional chronological treatment of the strike. The southern elements emerge in bits and pieces as they affected the course of the conflict. We learn all about the details of the strike, but not much about the shaping circumstances.

Only on one point do the authors make a consistent effort to relate the strike to the southern environment. Influenced by Norman Pollack, they find a close connection here between rural and industrial protest. Actually, they do not make a very strong case. Little evidence emerges to show mutual sympathy between farmers and miners, and even less to suggest a common reform ideology. The

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strike was fought over the terms of employment in the mines, especially wages. The connection with Populism was apparently fortuitous; the strike leaders threw their support to the Populists because they expected that a defeat of the Bourbon administration in Montgomery would help the strike. It is not even certain from this account that the miners' vote went solidly Populist.

This monograph will be useful for other researchers, but Ward and Rogers have not realized the potential of their subject.

Ohio State University DAVID BRODY

POLITICS IS ADJOURNED: WOODROW WILSON AND THE WAR CONGRESS, 1916–1918. By *Seward W. Livermore.* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1966. Pp. 324. $7.50.)

WE have long needed a good study of domestic politics in the United States during the First World War. Before publication of this book, the only more or less substantial work on the subject was Frederick L. Paxson's *America at War, 1917–1918,* which was less rather than more substantial.

Politics Is Adjourned attempts to satisfy the need. It is, in fact, a reasonably good guide to the outward manifestations of wartime politics, and students will find it helpful as a guide to the debates in the Sixty-fifth Congress about Theodore Roosevelt's request to raise a volunteer force, conscription, problems of mobilization and supply, and the Wilson administration's conduct of the war effort. The author's detailed account of the congressional election of 1918 will also be useful.

The book has too many limitations and defects to be regarded as more than a beginning of the study that we need. First, Dr. Livermore is not adept at political analysis and rarely penetrates the surface. He rightly demonstrates, for example, that bitter battles did occur on Capitol Hill and between certain groups in Congress and the administration in 1917–1918. But Livermore, interpreting these controversies as being simply party battles, fails to see that they were manifestations of a much deeper bipartisan struggle between conservatives and progressives for determination of important national policies.

Second, Livermore makes more than a tolerable number of factual errors, for example: referring to Wilson's peace note of December 18, 1916, as a "reply" to the German peace note of six days before; seriously distorting the meaning of Wilson's annual message of 1917; calling Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock one of the "willful men"; saying that it was a tidal wave of anti-Wilson sentiment in Texas that "swept" Representative McLemore back into office in 1916; contending that the rising cost of living "largely absorbed the increased earnings of workers" during 1917–1918; writing that Wilson, between 1913 and 1918, went to the West only once, for a speech in Omaha in 1916; and saying that the Senate never acted upon the Revenue Act which the House of Representatives approved on September 20, 1918.

Finally, Livermore gives the impression of a considerable lack of objectivity by an uninhibited use of pejorative and intemperate language, fo rexample the following sentence about Mayor William Hale Thompson of Chicago: "The mayor's

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idiotic remarks and stupid conduct with respect to the war had offended decent Americans everywhere. . . ."

Princeton University ARTHUR S. LINK

LETTERS FROM THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE. By *Charles Seymour.* Edited by *Harold B. Whiteman, Jr.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. xxxii, 289. $7.50.)

THIS is a significant addition to the personal literature on the Paris Peace Conference. Charles Seymour had served with both The Inquiry and the State Department as a specialist on Austria-Hungary during 1917–1918. He went to Europe with President Wilson in December 1918 and returned with the same distinguished passenger in June 1919. During this interval Seymour witnessed stirring and momentous events and also played an important role himself as the American Peace Commission's chief adviser on all questions relating to the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Instead of keeping a diary, he set down much of what he saw, heard, and did in these letters to his family.

These letters are always interesting and at times absorbing, for Seymour was a first-rate reporter with a keen eye for vivid and dramatic details. But these letters are most important for what they tell us about the Peace Conference. They give a clear and consecutive view of how important details of the settlement were hammered out, both in the commissions and in the Council of Ten, Big Four, Council of Foreign Ministers, and so forth. Seymour's reports of his frequent appearances before the latter groups give brilliant inside views of the principal actors. These letters also contribute to our understanding of Wilson and House in Paris and relations between the two men. Finally, the letters should put to rest the absurd theory that Wilson suffered a stroke in April 1919 and became increasingly ineffectual in consequence.

I have not had an opportunity to compare the originals of these letters against the printed text. Actually, Seymour, before his death, had the letters typed, wrote a general introduction, and began work on notes. The editor says that Seymour made "a few stylistic corrections and a few deletions of family or personal references that would not interest the general reader," but he does not enlighten us concerning the extent of Seymour's changes other than to say that they did not affect the integrity of the originals.

The editor added a biographical sketch of Seymour in a foreword and completed the notes. Some of the latter are useful in providing historical context for the general reader; many are brief sketches of well-known historical figures and were so much busywork. Generally speaking, the notes add nothing to historical knowledge, and some of them are inaccurate or odd. Whiteman might have performed great service, both to scholars and to the memory of Seymour, by finding the numerous reports and documents that came from Seymour's pen, to which Seymour refers in letters, and by citing them either in notes or an appendix. The editor did this only in two cases, and these references are to documents in the Yale University Library, presumably the Seymour Papers.

Princeton University ARTHUR S. LINK

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LABOR IN CRISIS: THE STEEL STRIKE OF 1919. By *David Brody.* [Critical Periods of History.] (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1965. Pp. 208. $3.95.)

BETWEEN the violent industrial strife of the 1890's and the CIO's successes in the 1930's, few, if any, labor crises revealed so much as the 1919 steel strike about the immigrant worker's changing attitudes toward his place in America, the labor policies of the new industries employing mass production, the federal government's shifting role in industrial disputes, and the impotence of traditional craft unions when challenged by unorganized but restive workers and when pitted against the new industrial power. That great explosion has waited long for its modern historian. No one is better fitted than David Brody, and readers of his earlier and excellent *Steelworkers in America: The Nonunion Era* (1960) will not find his new work disappointing. It is analytically organized, thoughtfully argued, well written, and well informed.

Comparison of the two books is inevitable. Although there is some necessary repetition, their focus is quite different. *Steelworkers* admirably explored the causes of "labor stability" and the success of the open shop before World War I. It explained the breakdown of these patterns and viewed the strike of 1919 as mere aftermath. *Labor in Crisis* centers on the strike itself. Brody draws on his first book and on new information to disentangle the various causes of the strike and its seemingly inevitable failure. He convincingly argues that the First World War doomed the paternalistic policies of magnates like Elbert Gary and altered the outlook of immigrant steelworkers and that the War Labor Board shook fixed labor relations patterns. Through the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers, the established craft unions turned in 1918 to organize the steelworkers, but obsolete union strategy and management's obdurate hostility to collective bargaining limited their progress. Pressure by "rank-and-file steelworkers" pushed the committee to a premature confrontation with the steel magnates. The adversaries were ill-matched, and the community power structure in steel towns, the halfhearted support given the strike by skilled ironworkers, and the isolation of the strikers from government and public support made defeat inevitable. Collective bargaining did not come until the Great Depression reversed the very conditions that earlier inhibited unionism in industries of mass production.

Brody's book is a very good one, in many ways a model for similar studies of major industrial disputes. But its inadequate explanation of shifting attitudes of the Wilson administration toward the steelworkers makes clear once again the need for a comprehensive history of labor during the Wilson years and especially the effects of World War I on the interplay between the two. Perhaps Brody will someday favor us with such a work.

Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences HERBERT G. GUTMAN

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FROM RACE RIOT TO SIT-IN, 1919 AND THE 1960s: A STUDY IN THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE. By *Arthur I. Waskow*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1966. Pp. xviii, 380. $5.95.)

THIS book attempts to utilize the methodologies of traditional historical research and social scientific classification to structure comparisons over time and derive suggestions about the nature of interracial violence and the possible means of coping with it in constructive, orderly fashion. As such, the work is an imaginative contribution to our knowledge of interracial affairs, but it falls short of a fully persuasive analytic framework for the assessment of interracial tensions and their resolution.

Dr. Waskow has made maximum use of his sources, especially the hitherto little-used but extensive records of the NAACP. He employs his materials so exhaustively, in fact, that at times the reader has the restless feeling that an able scholar has tied himself too tightly to his data. Waskow's careful and deliberate examination of events, almost on a day-to-day basis, of the riots of 1919 in Washington, Chicago, and Phillips County, Arkansas, far exceeds what is required to make his points clear, and it frequently leaves the reader with an impatient concern that the author get on about the larger task and trim his scrutiny of details.

As the book shows, important lessons emerge in a comparison of the confrontations between Negro and white communities in 1919 and the 1960's. The attitudinal limitations of the dominant majority become distressingly apparent in both periods. Waskow's thorough analysis of the work and recommendations of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations, following the riots of 1919, for example, indicates how completely that effort was marred by the assumptions of white leaders careless of the political and economic realities fundamental to racial antagonisms. The author's treatment of the 1960's traces the operation of the same stultifying misconceptions. Similarly, he demonstrates that the role of the police, as agents of "the state," makes a considerable difference in the evolution of a riot situation. Effective and fairly neutral police action, apparent during several sit-ins of the current decade, becomes a buffer conducive to a nonviolent resolution of interracial tensions, while delay or indifference (to say nothing of hostility) induces further violence on both sides of the racial barricades.

Waskow is at his imaginative best when he summarizes recent events and postulates the extent to which proponents of interracial reform have developed successful patterns of "creative disorder" for challenging discrimination and forcing redress in nonviolent fashion. If his concluding chapter jumps too abruptly from the specific issues of American interracial violence to the broader aspects of international conflict, it does confirm the growing interest of activists and research scholars in the parallel problems of interracial justice and world peace. Over-all, readers will judge this book a substantive and suggestive asset in bringing both these major issues into clearer focus.

Washington, D. C. ROBERT L. ZANGRANDO

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THE UNCERTAIN GIANT: 1921–1941. AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY BETWEEN THE WARS. By *Selig Adler*. [American Diplomatic History Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1965. Pp. xi, 340. $6.95.)

RESTING on massive study, this second volume in a new series for undergraduate and graduate students of American diplomatic history shows its distinguished author's close knowledge of the era. The author has not merely a forty-six-page bibliography at the end of the volume; the freshness of the quotations in the text and the ease with which he generalizes are sure signs that he has read his titles. Organization is largely chronological, except for a chapter on Latin America. Interpretations are balanced, to use an overworked word; they show a willingness to take the judgments to the information, rather than vice versa. The author deserves congratulation for a fine piece of work.

Anyone venturing to interpret a large subject opens himself to occasional lapses or debatable interpretations, and there are a few in this able volume. The portrait of Secretary of State Kellogg is unfair and in parts inaccurate; the crediting of Professor James T. Shotwell as a convert to the ideas of the Chicago lawyer Salmon O. Levinson might have moved the late professor to a denial in the pages of this journal; Admiral Kimmel and General Short did not have access to the "Magic" intercepts; the Sunday morning warning to Pearl Harbor did not go out by commercial cable to protect it from interception by the Japanese; Midway did not fall during the Second World War. Some readers will hesitate at the clean bill of statesmanship awarded President Franklin D. Roosevelt: "It is not difficult to explain why Roosevelt sometimes dissimulated. Both Capitol Hill and the country were badly divided. National unity, so necessary in time of crisis, would have been further jeopardized by absolute frankness." Throughout the text are fulsome references to the work of scholars in the field, which will give students a notion of the current bibliography, assist the inflation of scholarly egos, and perhaps ward off unfavorable reviews; it would have been better, I think, to have kept those names in the bibliography.

All in all, this is a first-class book.

Indiana University ROBERT H. FERRELL

LABOR POLITICS IN A DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC: MODERATION, DIVISION, AND DISRUPTION IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1928. By *Vaughn Davis Bornet*. (Washington, D. C.: Spartan Books. 1964. Pp. xiii, 376. $6.95.)

ACCORDING to Professor Bornet's major thesis, Republicans and Democrats in the presidential election of 1928 sustained the traditional American political system because they represented capitalism and "moderation." Since the Socialists and Communists wanted to change the economic basis of society, they exerted, respectively, a divisive and disruptive influence on the established political order. While Bornet's generalizations are true, they could be applied to almost any election in recent American history. Organized labor remained within the bounds of orthodoxy; it refused to join a third-party movement or even to endorse a presidential

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candidate. As the author correctly points out, however, the urban and labor vote already had started to move into the Democratic camp even in this pre-New Deal era.

Generally the book is well organized. Its main points are presented with clarity although there is no good reason why the author had to italicize them throughout the text. Bornet occasionally mars his work by grinding an ideological ax and by using loose unscholarly language. Socialism's call for government ownership of the means of production in America is quickly brushed off as "idiocy." Democrats and Republicans may try to attract as many supporters as possible by appealing to economic self-interest, but if Socialists attempt to capture a large portion of the population (workers of the hand and mind), Bornet blasts them as advocating a step, which, if successful, would inevitably lead to one-party government. Many modern democratic nations have strong Socialist parties and extensive programs of nationalization; whatever their weaknesses, they are neither idiotic nor politically monolithic.

Bornet feels that he must prove that Herbert Hoover was not an "enemy of labor." Attacks on the former President during the thirties, the author claims, have "brainwashed a nation." As direct evidence of the unfair treatment meted out to Hoover, Bornet cites only two textbooks, both bearing publication dates of almost twenty years ago. An examination of more recent works dealing with the twenties currently used as college texts (for example, Leuchtenburg's *Perils of Prosperity,* Shannon's *Between the Wars,* Bernstein's *The Lean Years*) plainly reveals that they treat Hoover justly and in no way even imply that he bore enmity toward labor.

Considerable research into original sources formed the basis of this book. While it does not change the prevailing interpretation of the Hoover-Smith contest, it does add to our detailed knowledge of the activities of organized labor and of the Communist party in that election.

University of Missouri GRAHAM ADAMS, JR.

LIBERALS AND COMMUNISM: THE "RED DECADE" REVISITED. By *Frank A. Warren III.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 276. $6.95.)

IGNORING people like Walter Lippmann, whom he calls "the somewhat more conservative liberals," and people like Sidney Hook, "whose philosophy was truly radical . . . , not reformist," Professor Warren concentrates on "the left wing of the liberal movement" in his resurvey of the "Red Decade." He divides his Left-wing intellectuals of the thirties into three groups: fellow travelers, Russian sympathizers who were enamored of the Soviet Union without necessarily accepting the Communist line on all other topics, and the anti-Communist liberals. The fellow travelers command relatively little of Warren's attention; he assumes correctly that readers can easily fathom their position on most issues. It soon becomes obvious, too, that the author's sympathies lie with the anti-Communist liberals. The main faults of the Russian sympathizers, he tells us, consisted first in their myopic viewing of Russia through pragmatic lenses, an unfortunate habit that led them

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"to mistake mass control for social experimentation," and secondly in their assumption that liberty could be divided into political and economic liberty, with an attendant devaluation of political freedom.

In successive chapters Warren charts the reactions of his three brands of Left-wing liberals to the major issues of the 1930's: the Great Depression and the re-evaluation of traditional liberalism and of capitalism that ensued; Franklin Roosevelt's advances in economic regulation, which usually suffered in comparison with "planned, daring, sacrificial, purposeful Russia"; the fascist threat; the popular front movement; the Spanish Civil War and other foreign policy questions; the Moscow trials; the Nazi-Soviet Pact of August 1939. The last-mentioned development crippled the popular front endeavor to a very considerable degree, but only temporarily, for as Warren suggests, many of the "myths" that had enthralled fellow travelers and Russian sympathizers reasserted their influence after June 22, 1941.

Some will quarrel with Warren's system of classification and with his specific assignments of individuals to the categories he has devised. Yet on the whole his is a thoughtful survey of what was a confusing period for America's liberal intellectuals—one in which too many of them displayed a marvelous "lack of political sophistication." He believes, moreover, that his book holds lessons both for today's establishment liberals, who in their "realistic" abandonment of ideology have perhaps become paralyzed by the quest for consensus, and for "the new 'radical' younger generation in the United States" who think "that the history of contemporary man began at Hiroshima." It seems to me that members of this generation might find this book particularly instructive, if only they could be persuaded to push their study of man's foibles beyond the limits set by August 6, 1945, and Vietnam.

Rutgers University J. Joseph Huthmacher

CORNBELT REBELLION: THE FARMERS' HOLIDAY ASSOCIATION. By *John L. Shover.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 239. $5.95.)

The Farmers' Holiday Association was one of the most interesting and significant political-economic movements that rose and disappeared during the Great Depression. Organized by Milo Reno, president of the Iowa Farmers Union, at a meeting in Des Moines in May 1932, desperate and bankrupt farmers sought to improve their position through the farm strike. This kind of economic pressure was designed to convince Congress that it should pass cost of production legislation, mortgage relief laws, and other measures favorable to depressed farmers. Beginning in August 1932 and ending for the most part in October and November 1933, outraged producers in the rich western corn belt dumped milk in roadside ditches, enforced penny sales in foreclosure proceedings with guns and ax handles, and even threatened to hang judges. While some people foresaw these actions as a prelude to agrarian revolution, the farm strikes failed because law enforcement officers refused to permit highways to be blocked and because of the farmers' inability to hold milk, hogs, and cattle off the market for any extended period. The

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New Deal farm programs, moreover, took much of the militancy out of the movement.

A highly significant aspect of this rural rebellion was that it occurred mainly among dairy and corn-hog farmers who were normally fairly prosperous. They became aroused by the threat of losing property or income and took direct action to preserve their economic position. In other words, the author clearly shows that rural revolt was not based upon any particular type of farming; it was a widespread "response to extreme price and market fluctuations." Farmers who had something at stake were likely to be more radical than the down-and-out tenant.

Professor Shover does an exceptionally able job of dealing with Communist attempts to bore into this farm uprising. His account of Harold Ware and "Mother" Ella Reeve Bloor is fascinating and indicates clearly just how little the Communists understood American farmers. The Communists won a few supporters, but American farmers were not interested in revolution; they wanted higher prices and security of their property. From 1935 to its demise in 1937 the Farmers' Holiday Association attracted a miscellany of quarreling dissidents and some professional Communists, but these radicals were only fighting over an empty shell that had been deserted by farmers.

Cornbelt Rebellion is a judicious and balanced study. Shover has done prodigious research in previously unused materials, and he has also made good use of interviews. His conclusions and interpretations will, in my judgment, stand the test of time. Indeed, this book could serve as an excellent model for other needed studies in the New Deal period.

University of Oklahoma GILBERT C. FITE

THE FORGOTTEN FARMERS: THE STORY OF SHARECROPPERS IN THE NEW DEAL. By *David Eugene Conrad*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1965. Pp. 223. $5.00.)

GRADUALLY the full history of farm policy and agarian politics during the New Deal period is being published. A blank spot has been the eviction of sharecroppers and tenants in the "Cotton South" as a result of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. This is one of the darkest stories of American agricultural history. With no overriding framework of interpretation or apparatus of method, Professor Conrad has written a full and straightforward narrative account to fill an important chapter in New Deal history. Exhibiting admirable persistence, the author has scoured the country for the documentation and evidence available from survivors that is essential to this story, and he has skillfully unraveled a knotty problem.

With only slight indication of partiality toward the underdog, the book considers the peculiar socioeconomic arrangements of southern agriculture and the opportunities provided by the AAA for landlords, who managed the AAA locally, to take more than their share of its benefits at the expense of the sharecroppers. A liberal junior element in the Washington offices of the AAA and the Department of Agriculture championed the cause of the croppers. Jerome Frank, Rexford Tugwell, Gardner Jackson, and others challenged the authority of George Peek

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and Chester Davis who were the practical national administrators of the new farm program. The AAA, as far-reaching as it was, was not designed as an instrument of social revolution or uplift for the poorest farmers and farm laborers. The AAA, and especially its managers, was narrowly concentrated upon price supports as the principal means of farm relief. The social consequences of this program were incidental concerns. Secretary Henry A. Wallace was forced by tensions within his organization to decide which purposes came first and to choose between the factions before the whole adjustment program was disrupted. Wallace's famous "purge" of the humanitarian radicals in 1935 did, however, help direct national attention to the sharecropper scandal. Halfhearted efforts by the national AAA to protect the interests of the croppers could not prevent a landlord "reign of terror" against croppers in Arkansas who tried to organize for self-protection. The Tenant Farmers' Union, with assistance from Norman Thomas, gained widespread public sympathy shortly before the death of the AAA at the hands of the Supreme Court. This opened the way for a redirection of farm policy and initiation of such programs as the Farm Security Administration to assist the most disadvantaged farm people.

Conrad's story is centered upon the AAA, and he does not follow the history of national policy in relation to the South beyond 1936. Nor does he consider the long-term consequences of the AAA in the modernization or commercialization of southern agriculture. The AAA contributed to a social revolution in southern agriculture after all, despite its human costs.

University of California, Davis JAMES H. SHIDELER

THE NEW DEAL AND THE PROBLEM OF MONOPOLY: A STUDY IN ECONOMIC AMBIVALENCE. By *Ellis W. Hawley*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 525. $10.00.)

No economic problem is as old and as enduring in the history of the United States as the problem of monopoly. Public interest in the question may be dormant for some time, but inevitably there follows a tremendous cry to restore or enforce free competition. This book is concerned with one of the most dramatic and significant chapters in the ebb and flow of this phenomenon; it covers the era from the inception of the National Recovery Administration in 1933 to the outbreak of World War II in 1939. The discussion proceeds in the context of President Roosevelt's immediate objective of securing recovery from two severe depressions—first the Great Depression that began in 1929, and then the recession of 1937–1938. Professor Hawley logically begins with and devotes most attention to the NRA as a scheme of economic planning, and, after its demise by decision of the Supreme Court in 1935, to the subsequent discussion and legislation to achieve "partial piecemeal planning." He concludes with two related episodes: the hearings and investigations held by the Temporary National Committee, a commission established by Congress in 1938 to investigate monopoly in American industry; and the accompanying intensification of antitrust prosecutions by the United States Department of Justice.

Hawley has utilized much literature and produced a concise, well-organized

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account of the many aspects of this intricate subject. The book is notable for its careful exposition of often conflicting aims, the arguments, maneuvers, and shifting positions taken by the involved principals. Two questions, one of form and the other of substance, may be raised. The great amount of documentation required doubtless accounts for the author's practice of placing a large number of references in each of his footnotes, but consequently it is hard to distinguish the statements based on primary sources from those based on secondary sources and reminiscences, some recorded a considerable time after the event. The matter of substance concerns Hawley's evaluation of the success of the New Deal programs in question. He holds that, except for the government's increased spending policies, the measures, whether aimed at recovery or monopoly, were for the most part failures; a few were, at best, minor or marginal. Yet some of the gains he describes as "limited" or "marginal" can hardly be so considered. Thus he states that "the NRA might be credited with a sort of holding action, a program that for a season did provide a psychological stimulant and help check the deflationary spiral, prevent the further erosion of labor standards . . . [and] eliminate child labor." Again, he notes that the accelerated activities of the antitrust division of the Department of Justice, beginning in 1938, "did disrupt monopolistic arrangements that were no necessary part of modern industrialism."

Few readers will agree with the author's conclusion that the problem of monopoly will remain insoluble, but we are grateful for his skillful unraveling of the "politics" of the New Deal's handling of the problem.

Columbia University JOSEPH DORFMAN

THE RESPONSIBLE ELECTORATE: RATIONALITY IN PRESIDENTIAL VOTING, 1936–1960. By *V. O. Key, Jr.* With the assistance of *Milton C. Cummings, Jr.* Foreword by *Arthur Maass.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1966. Pp. xxi, 158. $4.00.)

IN the death of Professor V. O. Key in 1963, the world lost one of its most distinguished and beloved political scientists. How great that loss is can be seen in this posthumous volume.

By combining a careful analysis of aggregate voting statistics with an impressive volume of survey research data on voting behavior, Key presents a new and impressive portrait of the American voter. The orthodox scholarly portrait, he says, "is of an electorate straitjacketed by social determinants or moved by subconscious urges triggered by devilishly skillful propagandists." A more accurate portrait "is rather of an electorate moved by concern about central and relevant questions of public policy, of governmental performance, and of executive personality."

In the shifting pattern of voting behavior, Key finds not an irrational, manipulated mass but a responsible electorate moving from one party or candidate to another and from nonvoting to voting status in response to interests and motivations consistent with rationally conceived policy preferences. The magnitude of voter preference mobility, moreover, is considerably greater than a simple scanning of aggregate voting statistics would indicate. A modest shift in the percent-

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age of total vote shared by each major party from one election to another may in fact conceal actual shifts in various components of the electorate many times as great. Equally interesting is Key's analysis of the shifting pattern of voting behavior among socioeconomic groups.

Key's pioneer study of the responsible electorate should be required reading for every student of American politics even though some of his generalizations seem platitudinous. More important, however, is the empirical evidence he supplies to show that an opposition minority party that fails to distinguish between those issues on which there is a continuing conflict and those on which a substantial consensus has been achieved can have small hope of victory. Thus the failure of Republican candidates from 1940 through 1948 to abandon their opposition to "the major elements of the New Deal" was probably a major factor in their electoral defeats. The victory of Eisenhower over Taft at Chicago seemed to assure the voters of a moderate change in leadership and political orientation without threatening the basic social and political reforms of the Roosevelt-Truman administrations. Eisenhower's identification with victory in Europe and with NATO, moreover, made him substantially immune to the charge of isolationism leveled against Taft.

It is unfortunate that Key did not live to write about the voter shifts from the 1960 to the 1964 elections, which in a somewhat different way confirm his analysis of elections from 1936 to 1960. The closeness of the Nixon-Kennedy election of 1960 was owing to the general convergence of both candidates toward a position more compatible with the new consensus on both domestic and foreign policy issues. The Democratic landslide of 1964, on the other hand, served to underline the general opposition of the electorate to the radical deviation from that consensus represented by Barry Goldwater.

Key's analysis is an exciting and significant step toward a better understanding of American political behavior. It is, moreover, reassuring to learn from this unimpeachable authority that American voters are considerably more rational than many of their critics have assumed. "The perverse and unorthodox argument of this little book," Key wrote, "is that voters are not fools."

University of California, Berkeley PETER H. ODEGARD

A GIANT STEP. By *Clyde T. Ellis*. (New York: Random House. 1966. Pp. xiv, 267. $5.00.)

RECENT scholarship has noted that rural America achieved more in twentieth-century lobbying for legislation than was secured through direct political action in the nineteenth century. This volume could be cited to support the generalization. Clyde Ellis, a two-term New Deal congressman from Arkansas, became general manager of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association in 1942, a post he still holds today. Organized to represent members of the electric cooperatives financed with the aid of REA loans, the NRECA under Ellis' leadership has sought to expand the use of electric power in the rural areas of America and in underdeveloped nations as well. His account discusses in detail contributions to development of natural resources, particularly in the realm of public power, by

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Presidents from Franklin D. Roosevelt through Lyndon B. Johnson. All except Eisenhower were friendly. His administration, through policies prompted by Ezra Taft Benson, sought to curb REA loans and sabotage public power policies and thereby provoked the greatest single battle waged by the NRECA. The two-year effort to pass the Humphrey-Price bill designed to ensure the REA administrator final authority in making loans is fully and interestingly told at the outset of the volume. Though NRECA was defeated, the fight involved, Ellis remarked, "a classic lobbying campaign on both sides."

Expanding the benefits of electricity to rural regions involves continual conflict. Private power companies and their political allies seemingly seek to curb or discredit the role and work of public power groups, so that in this area the cry of monopoly can arouse in rural America almost the same connotations it generated among Populists in the 1890's. But today, as Ellis observes, rural America's battle for public power is supported by the AFL-CIO, large sectors of the Democratic party, and, on occasion, by such staunch Republican conservatives as Carl Curtis and Karl Mundt, both of whom broke with their party in the Humphrey-Price contest. And, perhaps more important, the REA pattern, along with multipurpose resource development, is being successfully exported to emerging nations on three continents.

Relating his experiences, Ellis presents a fascinating sector of recent American history, which can serve to remind urban-based historians that rural America is capable of creative contributions that are relevant to the democratic posture of this nation both at home and abroad.

Florida State University RICHARD LOWITT

WENDELL WILLKIE: FIGHTER FOR FREEDOM. By *Ellsworth Barnard.* (Marquette: Northern Michigan University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 611. $7.50.)

A QUARTER of a century has passed since the clarion call, "We Want Willkie," hurtled across our nation. Students and practitioners of the political scene were confounded as an unkempt utility chieftain and lifelong Democrat stole the 1940 Republican presidential nomination. The story is one of many significant contributions of Ellsworth Barnard's scholarly, fascinating biography of Willkie.

The author's admiration for the man and his social philosophy are constantly apparent, but it has not affected his over-all objectivity. There is much new information about Willkie's unorthodox, intellectually-oriented parents and his early rearing. Barnard has clarified points of controversy, pinpointed errors by other biographers, and dispelled many myths. Serious contemporary students need no longer ask, "Who was Wendell Willkie."

A Jeffersonian Democrat increasingly committed to the positive state, he brought reason and emotion to the 1940 presidential race, though no alternative to the New Deal program. He was never hesitant in condeming Norman Thomas' expulsion from Jersey City by Mayor "I am the law" Hague, the violation of individual rights by Martin Dies's House Un-American Activities Committee, or voluntarily defending a Communist before the Supreme Court.

Returning from his epoch "One World" flight in 1942, he made clear, as

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would John F. Kennedy two decades later, that political and military decisions "must be constantly exposed to democracy's greatest driving power—the whiplash of public opinion. . . ." Alone among Republicans and virtually all Democrats, he denounced the Darlan deal in North Africa because of "moral losses of expediency" and warned of the inevitable trappings of a fascist state under this Vichy leader.

Willkie's internationalism and support of the Allied cause and his vigorous espousal of Negro rights and the over-all objectives of the New Deal saved his party, but not himself, from definitive repudiation at the polls in 1944. Two years earlier he had predicted his major role when he remarked, typically: "I would gladly say to hell with the presidency and all political offices if I felt I could do more as an individual than as . . . president."

A labor of love, this volume deals in much greater detail with every major theme of seven earlier works on Willkie. Of the three most significant, Barnard refutes many of Mary Earhart Dillon's conclusions in *Wendell Willkie* (1952), bulwarks Joseph Barnes's interpretations in *Wendell Willkie* (1952), and agrees with Donald B. Johnson's scrupulously documented *The Republican Party and Wendell Willkie* (1960). The author has relied heavily upon Willkie's private papers, interviews with relatives, friends, and associates, and congressional committee reports. But have there been no doctoral dissertations or masters' theses on the subject?

This nation has need for such "fighter[s] for freedom," and also for such penetrating, scholarly works.

City College of New York BERNARD BELLUSH

PRIVATE PLANS AND PUBLIC DANGERS: THE STORY OF FDR'S THIRD NOMINATION. By *Bernard F. Donahoe.* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1965. Pp. x, 256. $6.50.)

FDR's ill-fated judicial proposals in 1937, an economic recession, and uninterrupted Right-wing victories in Congress and in the 1938 elections seemed to have laid the groundwork for a conservative Democratic presidential nominee in 1940. By May 1939 public opinion polls indicated a national sweep for John Nance Garner, with Farley and Hull waiting in the wings. In the face of many historians and political scientists, the author, Dr. Bernard F. Donahoe, proceeds to demolish the thesis that FDR sought to isolate and destroy presidential hopefuls prior to 1939. Instead, the President urged Farley, and then Robert Jackson, to run for governor of New York in 1938 to prove themselves. Paul V. McNutt of Indiana was a leading candidate until publication of sordid developments in his home state. He also pushed Harry Hopkins to the forefront, until the latter was laid low by serious illness.

During the summer of 1939, key party workers and city bosses gradually concluded that only FDR could maintain the unique coalition that had ensured his victory in 1936. The author further maintains that FDR would have run without the inspiration of an international crisis, in order to forestall a conservative suc-

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cessor. Weeks before the outbreak of World War II, Democratic leaders increasingly inclined toward a third-term nomination for FDR.

All this the author has developed with clarity and conciseness in an ably documented and intriguing work. He has taken us, virtually month by month from late 1936 to the elections of 1940, high-lighting the rise and fall of leading Democratic hopefuls. Students of the New Deal will benefit tremendously from this book and from the author's resort to many private collections at the Roosevelt Library and in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Donahoe is one of the first to explore intensively the fruitful papers of McNutt at Indiana University, and of party leader Frank Walker at the University of Notre Dame, in addition to many helpful doctoral dissertations and masters' theses.

I would urge the author, however, to make amends to the Workers Defense League, which he identified as "Communist-led." This organization protected and strengthened civil liberties and civil rights in such Democratic strongholds as McNutt's Indiana, Joe Robinson's Arkansas, and Boss Hague's Jersey City, as well as in the organized labor movement. It has been closely identified with Socialist Norman Thomas.

City College of New York BERNARD BELLUSH

THE QUARTERMASTER CORPS: OPERATIONS IN THE WAR AGAINST GERMANY. By *William F. Ross* and *Charles F. Romanus*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1965. Pp. xix, 798. $8.50.)

AT the end of the war against the Axis, a Senate committee reported as follows: "The supply of our armed forces in Europe has been a remarkable achievement, involving the delivery across the ocean and over beaches and through demolished ports, and then over a war-torn countryside into France and Germany of tonnages far in excess of anything previously within the conception of man."

The chief function of the US Army's Quartermaster Corps in World War II was to provide clothing and food for our troops. But it was also involved in such things as supplying laundry and bath facilities; collecting, identifying, and burying the dead; providing fuel, shelter, and the liquor ration; supplying spare parts and salvaging useful items; and handling captured enemy equipment. The authors of this well-researched book conclude that, despite some mistakes, "Quartermaster operations as a whole were outstandingly successful."

In general, this study emphasizes the higher levels of quartermaster activity at different periods of the war against Italy and Germany. There are some differences in focus between the Mediterranean and the European theaters of operations. In the former, the stress has been more upon the roles of base, corps, and army section quartermasters, while in the latter, chief attention has been placed upon the problems of the Theater Chief Quartermaster. This was owing to the fact that the Mediterranean theater evolved more slowly, with stronger British involvement, and with more influence upon operations by junior logistical staff officers and commanders.

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Dominating European theater quartermaster operations was a singular, highly efficient individual—Major General Robert M. Littlejohn. Despite a few errors, Littlejohn's accomplishments were monumental. The chief problem was not so much lack of supplies—sometimes inevitable—as the need to find competent and reliable personnel to supervise distribution of the mountains of goods.

One of the chief supply bottlenecks was the great port of Antwerp, about one hundred miles up the Schelde estuary from the sea. Montgomery's preoccupation, despite Eisenhower's growing impatience, with the unsuccessful MARKET Operation at Nijmegen allowed the enterprising Germans to maintain fortified positions along the Schelde for many weeks. "To a logistician," the authors maintain, "the eighty-five-day interval between the capture of Antwerp and its opening to Allied shipping was the most unfortunate development of the European campaign. . . ."

In short, this competent, judicious, and comprehensive, though somewhat prosaic, study presents a clear picture of how the Quartermaster Corps was able to equip, feed, and clothe not only 3,500,000 American fighting men, but also provide succor to at least 5,000,000 Allies, civilians, and Axis prisoners of war—"the largest human support operation by a single organization in all history."

Pennsylvania State University WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.

SICILY AND THE SURRENDER OF ITALY. By *Albert N. Garland* and *Howard McGaw Smyth*. Assisted by *Martin Blumenson*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The Mediterranean Theater of Operations.] (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1965. Pp. xvii, 609. $9.00.)

SECOND in the Mediterranean subseries of the official "U. S. Army in World War II" volumes, this book is the fruit of an unusually large-scale collaborative effort within the Office of the Chief of Military History. Written by Albert N. Garland and Howard McGaw Smyth, this labor of years has profited immensely from the efforts of many soldiers and scholars here an in Italy. Indeed, one cannot wonder that Martin Blumenson, also from the OCMH, was called on to help reduce such a vast and indigestible mass of material to this relatively coherent and manageable account of the opening stages of the Allied campaign in Italy. It is to the credit of all concerned that this has been done so well, although occasionally even the professional reader may flag a bit under the impact of such variegated and sometimes contradictory sources—British, Canadian, American, German, and Italian.

Portraits, incisive to the point of brilliance, of leading Allied and Axis military figures are sustained by footnotes regarding the veracity of Italian, if not Allied sources, blunt enough for the palate of an A. J. P. Taylor. The ambivalence and traditional sense of honor of Marshal Pietro Badoglio emerge as more responsible for the frustration of Allied hopes in the surrender of Italy than does President Roosevelt's admittedly embarrassing policy of unconditional surrender. Field Marshal Albert Kesselring is granted his customary due as a commander of great tactical presence, but General Alfred Jodl's belated realism in grand strategy is somewhat minimized.

Sir Harold Alexander's too persistent distrust of the American Army in com-

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bat, Montgomery's characteristic inability to exploit a victory, and General Patton's neuroses are fully delineated, although the authors' explanations for the disappointing results of the Sicilian campaign or for the cautious Salerno approach to Italy may not satisfy everyone. Certainly, however, there is no official pretense that the British and Americans, much more than the squabbling Axis partners, were fighting by the same means for the same ends in this savagely debated campaign. Significantly, the Allies were as fortunate in the balance and integrity of their soldiers and statesmen as in their authorized historians.

Drexel Institute TRUMBULL HIGGINS

DECISION AT LEYTE. By *Stanley L. Falk*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1966. Pp. 330. $5.95.)

ON October 20, 1944, American military forces under the command of General Douglas MacArthur and of Admiral Chester W. Nimitz converged at Leyte Island in the central Philippines and began the decisive battles that would establish Allied supremacy in the Western Pacific. The Leyte campaign has been elaborately documented in official army, navy, air force, and marine corps histories. Each of these service histories considered the contributions of the other services and appropriately recorded the actions of hostile Japanese forces, but each quite naturally stressed ground, air, or naval aspects of the campaign. Now, at the Industrial College of the Armed Forces where he is an associate professor of national security affairs, Stanley L. Falk has attempted to take a new look at the Leyte operation as a feat of composite military force.

Falk proposes "to portray the significant, the meaningful, the unusual, and, within reasonable limits, the ordinary events of those bloody months in late 1944 when the fate of the Japanese Empire was sealed." He has drawn information about American activities chiefly from the official service histories, but his coverage of enemy experience benefited from his personal association with the Japanese military historical project set up by General MacArthur in Tokyo during the occupation. Falk's recording of the Japanese side of the campaign is well rounded and authoritative. His proposal for an integrated history of American military operations is a move in the right direction, but it is fair to question how well he has accomplished his objective. In point of space, approximately two-thirds of the book is concerned with preliminary planning and with the naval battles off Leyte. This apportionment leaves too few pages for a really adequate treatment of the ground and air battles that took place on and around the island during the three months following the invasion. On occasions, Falk makes very broad generalizations: he informs the reader that American command arrangements in the Pacific remained "substantially the same" throughout the war, whereas they were greatly revised in the spring of 1945. One may also wonder at his exact knowledge of General Yamashita's "inner feelings" and of Admiral Toyada's heaviness of heart about Japan's prospects for victory.

Since there are no footnotes and no bibliography beyond a general statement of indebtedness, it is difficult to determine the sources of factual information. In short, Falk has taken a needed step toward the writing of a unified military his-

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tory, but he has not quite been able to blend the story of the fighting in the air, at sea, and on the ground into a single authoritative narrative.

Air University ROBERT F. FUTRELL

EXPANDING LIBERTIES: FREEDOM'S GAINS IN POSTWAR AMERICA. By *Milton R. Konvitz.* (New York: Viking Press. 1966. Pp. xvii, 429. $8.95.)

MILTON R. Konvitz has written extensively and effectively on many aspects of the problems of human freedom in our country. His reputation for lucid writing and solid scholarship will be enhanced with the publication of this book. As in his previous writings, Konvitz analyzes current civil liberties problems in this book with great objectivity and with careful attention to the nuances of legal thought. While his work rests upon solid documentation, Konvitz also has strong moral commitments on the subject of our expanding liberties, and he brings to his writing a certain quality of Old Testament commitment to righteousness and justice combined with much philosophical insight.

This book seeks to assess the gains for human freedom in postwar America, largely as these gains are reflected in the decisions of the Supreme Court. It is suggestive of the changing emphasis in civil liberties that this book contains a chapter on freedom of association and one on academic freedom, both of which have just recently found their places as constitutional liberties in the jurisprudence of the Supreme Court. A long discussion of the sit-in cases points up still another new focus of judicial attention.

Summarizing the cases of religious freedom of the past quarter of a century, the author reviews the recent decisions of the Court barring prayers and Bible reading in the public schools, the history of the litigation over the Smith Act of 1940 and over the McCarran Communist Control Acts of the 1950's, the censorship of literature, the concept of racial equality, the treatment of Americans of Chinese and Japanese descent and American Indians, and American policy in respect to the international protection of human rights.

Konvitz does not leave the reader in any doubt as to where he stands. He believes in a maximum of religious freedom and in a maximum of separation of church and state. He believes that freedom of association is vital in a democracy and that the Court's position in respect to legislation touching upon the Communist party was not much better than that taken by Congress itself. He believes in the freedom of literature from censorship and in racial equality.

The evaluation of Supreme Court opinions, however, is a difficult matter. Since adjudication is by no means an automatic process, questions of judgment loom large in making any assessment of juridical positions. With respect to several crucial matters, such as the problems of political subversion and obscene literature, the author has given insufficient weight to the legislative judgment upon which the statutes involved in litigation rested. We must recognize that our legislative bodies, state and federal, represent, in a broad way, the deeply felt convictions of most of the American people and that this social judgment is entitled to recogni-

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tion. It is in the analysis of the legislative judgment that I find the greatest deficiency in what is otherwise a fine book.

University of Wisconsin DAVID FELLMAN

A THOUSAND DAYS: JOHN F. KENNEDY IN THE WHITE HOUSE. By *Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1965. Pp. xiv, 1087. $9.00.)

A Thousand Days is a brilliant example of "participant history." As a member of President Kennedy's White House staff, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., witnessed and helped shape the events of the Kennedy years. Schlesinger's recounting of this experience is not only an important work in its own right, but will prove an indispensable source for historians of twentieth-century America in years to come. Moreover, Schlesinger has written more than a memoir. He has interviewed other participants and has had access to some of their papers. Frequently, too, he abandons the role of memoirist to place the Kennedy years in a historical context. In a series of informative essays on such questions as the debate on nuclear policy between the atomic laboratories at Livermore and Los Alamos, Schlesinger's wide-ranging intelligence is particularly impressive.

The attempt to combine the roles of memoirist and historian has not been altogether successful. As memoirist, Schlesinger was compelled to confine much of his narrative to episodes with which he was familiar. As a consequence, as he himself notes, his book deals largely with foreign affairs and "only occasionally" with the New Frontier. While the Papuans in West New Guinea get three pages, Kennedy's farm policy is dismissed in two paragraphs, the Housing Act of 1961 in one sentence, and there is nothing on the conquest of space. On the other hand, when Schlesinger eschews the role of memoirist in order to develop the historical context of the Kennedy reign, John Kennedy disappears from the narrative for pages at a time. At times, too, Schlesinger's view is the circumscribed one of a White House staffer, and the proliferation of names of government officials (how, to head AID, Ralph Dungan found George Woods and then Fowler Hamilton, who recruited William Gaud and Graham Martin) reflects reality as perceived from a White House desk.

Yet these are small matters in this plum pudding of a book shrewd in generalization and rich in detail. Schlesinger's quotations sparkle. There is Kennedy's reply when asked what he had said to Roger Blough after U.S. Steel capitulated on the price rise: "I told him that his men could keep their horses for the spring plowing." The comment on the Congo chaos: "Every nation has a right to its own War of the Roses." Orville Freeman's explanation of how he came to be asked to be Secretary of Agriculture: "I think it's something to do with the fact that Harvard does not have a school of agriculture." And Kennedy's response to the news that Martin Luther King's father had decided to back him despite the fact that he was a Catholic: "Imagine Martin Luther King having a bigot for a father. . . . Well, we all have fathers, don't we?"

As in the writings of men like Theodore Sorensen and Burke Marshall, Schlesinger's work reflects the rueful sense of the Kennedy circle that the world is

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a lot more intractable than they had once supposed. Much of the book is a study in frustration: the lack of leverage with Congress, the need to compromise on economic policy, the disaster at the Bay of Pigs, the collapse of the "Grand Design," Kennedy's "terrible ambivalence about civil rights," the limits of *détente* with Russia. Yet Schlesinger leaves no doubt that he thinks of Kennedy's short presidency as a time of achievement: "He re-established the republic as the first generation of our leaders saw it—young, brave, civilized, rational, gay, tough, questing, exultant in the excitement and potentiality of history."

Schlesinger argues that in the fall of 1963 Kennedy's presidency was coming into its own and implies that much of the legislation Johnson harvested should be credited to his predecessor. Other historians, remembering the deadlock of Kennedy's last weeks in office, may dispute this view, and they will find much evidence in Schlesinger's volume to sustain them. But this is precisely the value of the book. It makes possible the beginning of a fruitful dialogue over the assessment of the Kennedy years, and, despite the silly brouhaha about Schlesinger's alleged indiscretion, permits that dialogue to start now.

Columbia University WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1964. By *Jules Davids.* (New York: Harper and Row for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1965. Pp. xi, 386. $6.95.)

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1964. Edited by *Jules Davids* with the assistance of *Elaine P. Adam.* (New York: Harper and Row for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1965. Pp. xx, 460. $7.50.)

THE Council on Foreign Relations is one of the important members in the now-famous "American Establishment," that collection of men and organizations which formulates and explains, in this particular case, the main lines of official American foreign policy. As a result, these annual publications are welcomed by historians, for the volumes both emanate from an authoritative source and delineate explanations of policy. There is no obvious "inside" information given. A book written largely from documents published in the New York *Times,* State Department publications, and popular American periodicals automatically has the necessary tone and factual material suitable for the announced policies. Such dissenters as Senators Morse, Goldwater, and even Humphrey are duly noted, but it is significant that no analysis is given of dissent or alternative policies within either the State Department or the White House.

If one keeps this last proviso in mind, he will find that these accounts of American foreign policy have great value, particularly because they offer interpretations as well as a listing of men, events, and documents. In the narrative volume Jules Davids has traced two conflicting themes that will surely mark 1964 in American history. First, the hopeful pronouncements of the Great Society became popularized in the presidential campaign. Second, events in Asia began to weaken the Great Society program and the generation-old policy of Europe first. He also provides documentation for the administration's interpretation of this change, such as the serious underestimation made by the State and Defense De-

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partments of China's nuclear explosion, and the President's statement in April 1964 that "It is not we who must reexamine our view of China," but "it is the Chinese Communists who must reexamine their view of the world." Some of the sympathy given the administration's policy is almost too blatant.

Historians might regret that in interpreting these events Davids has written more like a Foreign Service officer than a historian. In discussing Franco-American relations, for example, he rapidly notes some roots in the early 1950's, but neglects the important historical background of De Gaulle's policies in 1940–1945 and the traditional conflict between French and American goals in Europe throughout much of this century. This is doubly unfortunate, for as evidenced by his earlier publications, Davids can superbly trace such relationships.

The final topic discussed in the narrative volume provides a fitting conclusion. In an excellent analysis of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Davids reveals how some industrialized nations were "frankly nervous" about the economic ideas advanced by Dr. Raul Prebisch on behalf of the developing countries. Davids gives no account of the disagreement within the State Department between those who wanted to explore fully Prebisch's suggestions (especially his ideas on commodity price agreements and preferential arrangements that would protect the export of manufactured products by the developing nations) and those who shaped the ultimate American position of telling the developing countries that they must first help themselves. This discussion raises doubts about American pronouncements on economic and social aid, one of the major themes in the policies of 1964. Of the other major theme, the growing intensity of problems in Asia, there can, unfortunately, be less doubt.

Cornell University WALTER LAFEBER

A HISTORY OF CANADA. Volume III, FROM THE TREATY OF UTRECHT TO THE TREATY OF PARIS, 1713–1763. By *Gustave Lanctot.* Translated by *Margaret M. Cameron.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 304. $6.75.)

IN this volume Dr. Lanctot, onetime Dominion Archivist, continues his narrative history of Canada. The period covered was a vital one in North America's history. During the long peace following the Treaty of Utrecht, the social institutions and economy of New France began to flourish as never before. Then came the clash of imperial wars as England strove to eliminate the growing rivalry of French maritime commerce and France determined to curb English expansion in North America. Canada served as the main base for this containment policy, and during the early years of the conflict the French were remarkably successful. When the full weight of British military power was brought to bear, however, the armies defending Canada went down to defeat, and the colony was permanently lost.

This is a gripping story and one that has been told many times by all manner of historians. In recent years, however, certain aspects of Canada's history in the period have been re-examined by some few scholars, new approaches have been attempted, new questions asked, and different answers found to old ones. Unfortunately, Lanctot pays little heed to their findings. In describing events pre-

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ceding the conquest, for example, Lanctot, like Parkman, allows his distaste for Governor Vaudreuil and the intendant, Bigot, to warp his judgment. Vaudreuil is painted deep black; Montcalm, pure white. The contrary view contained in Guy Frégault's *La guerre de la conquête* and the judicious estimate in C. P. Stacey's *Quebec 1759* are disregarded. Indeed, neither work is listed in the extensive bibliography. On some other issues, the Acadians for example, the author presents a contrasting interpretation to the traditional Anglo-Saxon one advanced by Parkman; his views merit attention.

The translation from the original French is quite good, but a few terms have caused confusion: muskets become rifles; seigneurial *rentes* become rents, which, strictly speaking, they were not. The scholarly apparatus is most impressive: 211 pages of text, 35 pages of reference notes mainly to primary source materials, 11 crammed pages of bibliography, both primary and secondary sources, 39 pages of transcribed documents, 8 pages of illustrations, and 3 maps.

This book may well prove useful to the general student who wishes only a brief survey of the period, but for an appraisal of strategy and Montcalm's role in the Seven Years' War, he would be well advised to consult other recent studies.

University of Toronto W. J. Eccles

THE MARK OF HONOUR. By *Hazel C. Mathews.* [Canadian Studies in History and Government, Number 6.] ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 220. $4.75.)

This work, in spite of its title, is not a general study of the United Empire Loyalists, but rather an account of the experiences of certain Scottish loyalists, especially the Chisholm, Park, Thomson, and Rose families, who migrated from Tryon and Albany Counties, New York, during the Revolution. The author explained that she concentrated on a particular group representative of the poorer loyalist emigrants, who, she believed, have been neglected by historians. Actually, nearly all the loyalists who migrated to what became Upper Canada were poor. Mrs. Mathews is on sounder ground when she says that the background and life of these people prior to their arrival in Canada have received little attention. The author has given us a full and solid account of the group in which she is interested. In fact, the work is larger than the number of pages indicates, as the type is small and crowded. Here and there the facts are so tightly woven that the reader needs to have a fair knowledge of the subject to keep the thread. Since the Scottish group was treated by government no differently from other loyalists, the author has inevitably given us some general information. Her work, however, does not deal to any great extent with motives or political theory. One point that emerges is the short time many of the loyalists had been in America.

Mrs. Mathews has used all likely sources in the Archives of Canada and of Nova Scotia, and in the Public Record Office. Two helpful maps are included, and the footnotes are detailed and numerous. Nevertheless, some long paragraphs are not supported by references, and in other cases the notes are not specific; for example, "McMicking Papers" tells us very little. It is extremely unlikely that this

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aspect of the history of the United Empire Loyalists will need to be dealt with again.

University of Western Ontario JAMES J. TALMAN

INTRIGUES FRANÇAISES ET AMÉRICAINES AU CANADA 1800–1802. By *Jean-Pierre Wallot.* (Montreal: Éditions Leméac. 1965. Pp. 142.)

THIS monograph opens with a list of the sources upon which it is based, mostly manuscript documents from the Public Archives in Ottawa. After a brief introduction summarizing the history of French and American intrigues in Canada from 1793 to 1799 three chapters retrace the events of the years 1800, 1801, and 1802, respectively. A four-page conclusion presenting a rapid survey of the political climate until about 1812 follows, and the book closes with appendixes containing unpublished documents pertaining to the subject under investigation.

Professor Wallot nowhere explains why he chose the year 1800 to begin his study. We are therefore left to surmise that he judged the story of French and American activities in Canada at the end of the eighteenth century to be so well known that he should turn most of his attention to the later period, about which much less was known. The terminal date of 1802 was apparently chosen because, after that year, British authorities considered that the danger from foreign intrigue had abated to such an extent that there was no longer reason to worry.

As shown by the author, the fears of British officials, which at times bordered upon hysteria, were exaggerated. Plots of French or American origin had no chance of success without the participation of the French or the American government and the active support of the French-Canadian population. By 1800 the realities of international politics and the loyalty of French Canadians to Great Britain, due in great part to the influence of their clergy alienated from France by the antireligious philosophy of its government, doomed any attempt to strike a serious blow at British power in Canada.

The events studied by Wallot, minor in the total context of Canadian history, deserved, nevertheless, to be investigated. This book is well documented. The only reservation I feel constrained to make concerns the style, which is marked by a strange combination of colloquialisms and pompous words or phrases sure to jolt the reader accustomed to simple, elegant French prose.

University of Virginia JOSEPH MÉDARD CARRIÈRE

U. S. POLICY IN LATIN AMERICA: A SHORT HISTORY. By *Edwin Lieuwen.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. x, 149. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.75.)

PROFESSOR Lieuwen has written a clear and concise history whose subject matter he describes as "Latin America through Washington's eyes." He focuses on the way in which United States policy makers have sought through diplomacy or the use of power to carry out changing definitions of national interest vis-à-vis Latin America. The book will be valuable primarily to laymen looking for a historical

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sketch as orientation toward a better understanding of contemporary inter-American problems.

Forced to hurry through the years from the early commercial origins of interest in Latin America to the Good Neighbor policy, Lieuwen unfortunately has to compress so much history in so few pages that the result is at times less satisfactory than that in some college texts on American history. Too many unguarded statements are either erroneous or highly misleading, such as the author's description of the acquisition of Florida by "purchase treaty."

On certain subjects awareness of more recent historical scholarship is not apparent. Merk's enlightening book on manifest destiny and the researches of May and Morgan on the origins of the Spanish-American War are not reflected here; the steady growth of United States interest in Latin America throughout the 1880's, indicated in monographs by McGann and Pletcher, is ignored entirely. To his credit, on the other hand, Lieuwen follows Munro (who followed Bemis) in stressing concern for security rather than economic pressures as being more responsible for interventions in the Caribbean area before World War I.

Roughly half the book, the better half, deals with the period since 1933. Both the Good Neighbor policy and the later development of a hemispheric security organization are effectively handled, as is the tangled story of American policy toward Castro's Cuba. A separate chapter on the Alliance for Progress is excellent. Assessing weaknesses in the Organization of American States, Lieuwen realistically distributes blame for them on Latin America's delay in facing up to the need for change, Communist subversion, and US reluctance to help promote Latin America's economic growth and political and social reforms. The outcome, of course, has been a series of crises in the 1960's, confronting the US with regrettable choices as policy alternatives. They have led back to unilateral action, fortunately without destroying the cooperative concept.

Lieuwen concludes that historically the central theme of US policy toward the entire area between the Rio Grande and Cape Horn has been that of creating a special sphere of influence. Such an overreaching generalization does an injustice to the complexity of inter-American relations, the study of whose history has been plagued by excessive generalizing. In any given time period, surely, the record of United States policy toward the large South American nations compared with that involving the small Caribbean countries calls for the making of meaningful distinctions rather than the emphasis of superficial similarities.

The select bibliography of titles in English and Spanish ought to add at least the pertinent works of Cosío Villegas, Cronon, Healy, McGann, May, Merk, Pletcher, Pike, Peterson, and, especially, Whitaker's *Western Hemisphere Idea.*

Williams College RUSSELL H. BASTERT

THE UNWRITTEN ALLIANCE: RIO-BRANCO AND BRAZILIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS. By *E. Bradford Burns.* [Institute of Latin American Studies, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 305. $6.95.)

AFTER the military nightmare of the 1890's, the republic of Brazil settled down

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to an era of political stability, continuity of government, and economic prosperity. This internal well-being made it possible for the Baron Rio-Branco, Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1902 to 1912, to mold a positive foreign policy. By using the argument of effective occupation, for example, he successfully concluded the centuries-old demarcation problems along nine thousand miles of border. Considering Brazil's size and potential, the Baron was also determined to improve its image and prestige throughout the world. Through cooperation with Chile, he managed to frustrate Argentine power in South America, thus preserving his country's hegemony over the area.

A realist in world affairs, Rio-Branco initiated a policy of "approximation" toward the United States in hopes of winning strong support for his nation's objectives. This shift in Brazil's diplomatic axis, from London to Washington, D. C., was well received by the State Department, especially under the leadership of Elihu Root. On many occasions the actions and attitudes of the United States government seem to confirm a widely held suspicion that an "unwritten alliance" existed between the two non-Spanish-speaking powers. A case in point was the territorial dispute of 1909 between Peru and Brazil. While the northern ally dominated Middle America, so the suspicion went, the Brazilian partner, always prompt to explain and justify American steps to its Spanish neighbors, was keeping peace in the southern continent. This close diplomatic cooperation was further encouraged by the allies' complementary economies, the dependence of Brazilian coffeegrowers on the American market, and the preferential treatment given to products of the US in Brazil.

Much of what Professor Burns has to say in this volume is already known. His contribution, therefore, lies in the interpretation that has been sketched above and in the depth of documentation that he brings to it. The presentation is straightforward and objective, despite the undertones of admiration for Rio-Branco and for Joaquim Nabuco, the first Brazilian ambassador to the United States. The earlier chapters effectively present the background to the period in question; Chapters IV and V utilize the chronological format; and subsequent chapters employ the topical approach. Such an organization, unfortunately, leads to excessive repetition that at times proves annoying. But this is indeed a minor criticism of an otherwise solid study of power diplomacy in the Western Hemisphere.

George Washington University MARIO RODRÍGUEZ

THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICAN WARS, 1932–1942. By *Bryce Wood*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 519. $11.00.)

SINCE there have been few declared wars in Latin America, the idea has grown that America was a continent of peace. The many civil wars in that part of the world should have made it plain that the idea is based on myth. This book exposes the myth and also shows that the record of the Latin American countries as keepers of the peace in the first half of the twentieth century is a spotty one.

It is true that the American continent has not been the battlefield for any great international war. But there have been small wars, and at times they have been

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vicious. This book deals with part of the diplomacy of three of these little, even obscure, wars: the Chaco War, the Leticia dispute, and the struggle over the Marañón-Amazon River system.

Although the United States did little to prevent the wars or even to settle them, its diplomats were involved in efforts to bring the belligerents to peace settlements. The author claims that the hands-off attitude of the United States, or what he calls solicitude in anarchy, toward the wars reflected the nonintervention principle in the Good Neighbor policy. It is this policy as it affected the diplomacy of the wars that Wood attempts to analyze. He feels that the failure of the American states to keep peace in the 1930's may have stimulated the action that brought about the Organization of American States and the building of machinery to keep peace in the Americas.

The author is so concerned with diplomatic detail that his theme does not emerge clearly out of the evidence. This is diplomatic history, based largely on unpublished State Department documents and published works from the US and Latin America, that tells who said what to whom on what day. Regrettably, the insignificant is often mixed with the important without clear distinction. Yet the book makes a contribution to historical knowledge. Its research is thorough, and it tells in small detail and in a well-organized manner as much as one might want to know about American policy as related to three insignificant conflicts.

University of California, Santa Barbara ALEXANDER DECONDE

TEMAS DE HISTORIA ECONÓMICA HISPANOAMERICANA: ENSAYOS. By *A. Jara et al.* Presented by *F. Braudel* and *E. Pereira Salas.* [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e^ Section. Institut des Hautes Études de l'Amérique Latin. Nova Americana, Number 1. Universidad de Chile, Centro de Investigaciones de Historia Americana, Santiago de Chile.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1965. Pp. 76.)

THE five authors of these papers are concerned with the failure of Latin American economic history to meet the standards of European scholarship. The papers comment on deficiencies in research and conception. They indicate differences between Spanish colonial and European economies, defining the subject afresh. They suggest appropriate topics for new investigations. What emerges is a sense of colonial Spanish American economic history as a unique field, heretofore insufficiently identified and suffering from an uncritical carry-over of European assumptions. Thus current studies of American prices are criticized as mechanistic and disoriented, lacking in purpose. Other topics of economic history, it is argued, also had special meanings in Spanish America, where only a small segment of the population earned wages or otherwise participated in upper-level (and hence superficial) aspects of the economy. Colonial Spanish America is characterized as an environment of "natural" economy, that is, with salaries paid in kind, fixed prices, barter, and minimal monetary circulation. It is further identified as "feudal," or dependent on the exploitation of natural resources. The authors look favorably (as I do) on the work of Sherburne Cook, L. B. Simpson, and Woodrow Borah concerning the extent and nature of land exploitation and the depopulation of

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the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for such studies are informed by European theory and practice without being slavish imitations of European models. The subject is developed for colonial Spanish American economic history in general by Ruggiero Romano; for agriculture and population by Rolando Mellafe; for mining by Alvaro Jara; and for commerce by Sergio Villalobos R. and Manfred Kossack. Each essay says something about the present state of research on its subject, and in general the appeal is for more imaginative use of concrete data. The publication is sponsored by the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* and introduced by Fernand Braudel, whose influence upon the ideas expressed is evident.

This is not a major work, but it is a suggestive guide to present and future changes in this field.

University of Michigan CHARLES GIBSON

NATIONALISM IN CONTEMPORARY LATIN AMERICA. By *Arthur P. Whitaker* and *David C. Jordan*. [Studies in Contemporary Latin America.] (New York: Free Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 229. $6.95.)

THE casual reader will put down this book not only enlightened but alarmingly confused over the complexities and varieties of Latin American nationalism. The advanced student of Latin America will be more enlightened and less confused. While the book is general in scope and intended as a survey, it is often so profound in its analyses and so original in its almost casual introduction of revisionist materials that it can be most adequately appreciated by the so-called authority.

The authors contend that nationalism is the greatest single force at work in Latin America and that it exists in a number of forms. Most important in recent times has been the nationalism that its advocates have regarded as an instrument of change, either evolutionary or revolutionary. Brazil is described as a country in which nationalism is intimately associated with the quest for modernization, nonalignment, and great power status. Chile, Uruguay, and Venezuela are analyzed as examples of countries whose presently politically dominant nationalists propound revolution, but are willing to achieve their goals through evolution. Bolivia and Cuba are presented as recent examples of countries that have insisted upon trying to achieve revolutionary change through revolutionary means.

The features of national bourgeois as opposed to populist nationalism are developed, and Nasserism, as a new type of nationalism, receives attention. Defensive nationalism is described as the approach of reformers who want both to introduce change and to retain various features, regarded as still useful, of the established order. Peru and Colombia are depicted as countries where defensive nationalism presently dominates the political scene.

The authors contend that the basic question in any study of nationalism should be: "What functions does it perform? For nationalism is a tool, and the things we need to know about it are, who uses it, and why, how, and with what results?"

The portions of the book contributed by David Jordan are of distinguished quality and indicate the appearance of a talented and promising young Latin Americanist. In the introductory and concluding chapters and in those dealing es-

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pecially with Argentina and continental nationalism Arthur Whitaker displays genuine virtuosity, benefiting occasionally from the graciously acknowledged original research of the graduate students, among them Jordan, whom he directed in his long-term series of seminars at the University of Pennsylvania. In a limited number of pages Whitaker penetrates more deeply than most previous writers with longer space allotments at their disposal into the mysteries of Latin American nationalism. He brings more than careful investigation, freshness, and intuition to his exposition, for he uses words as the Incas used stones: each one fits with uncanny precision into place, doing the utmost to serve the purpose of the over-all construction design.

University of Pennsylvania FREDRICK B. PIKE

DAS ENDE DES MAXIMILIANISCHEN KAISERREICHS IN MEXICO: BERICHTE DES KÖNIGLICH PREUSSISCHEN MINISTERRESIDENTEN ANTON VON MAGNUS AN BISMARCK, 1866–1867. Edited by *Joachim Kühn.* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag. 1965. Pp. 343.)

HERR Kühn, historian by training and diplomat by profession, found himself stationed in Mexico City in 1940. In the archives of the German legation he discovered the first drafts of the reports sent to Berlin between 1865 and 1867 by the Prussian representative to the court of Emperor Maximilian. These documents form the core of Kühn's book, but around them he has artfully woven a very knowledgeable analysis of the downfall of Maximilian's empire. The volume will interest students of both European and Latin American history.

The first chapter sketches the diplomatic background of the Mexican adventure. It shows that the plan to establish a Habsburg prince in Mexico appealed to Napoleon III because he viewed it as a possible compensation to Austria for the impending loss of Venetia. As is well known, the Empress Eugénie supported the mad undertaking with conspicuous energy. Kühn pictures Maximilian as a self-deluded man whose pretensions to power and glory were inspired by an insatiable vanity and the desire to play an important role, no matter where or at what price. Carlota's inordinate ambition lacked both the physical and the mental strength necessary for the attainment of her aspirations.

The Prussian envoy, Von Magnus, appeared in Mexico in 1865. Bismarck, for whom the Mexican affair was a godsend, had cannily refused to follow the example of the other Great Powers in appointing an ambassador to the shaky court and had merely designated Von Magnus as minister in residence and consul general. The reports of Von Magnus give evidence of considerable sympathy for the cause of monarchy, but do not fail to recognize Maximilian's untenable position. Von Magnus follows the military operations from the evacuation of the French forces to the final disaster in Querétaro in 1867. Of great interest is the summary written by Von Magnus after his meeting with Lerdo de Tejada, Juarez' Foreign Minister. He had pleaded in vain for Maximilian's life, and his words confirm the belief that Juarez alone was responsible for the decision to execute the hapless Prince.

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An epilogue and an annotated bibliography conclude the volume. Not all of Kühn's comments will be accepted on this side of the Atlantic, but his book furnishes an important contribution to an already overworked and overwritten subject. I regret that we learn very little about Bismarck's reaction to the outcome of Napoleon's schemes of empire.

There are handsome illustrations, but no index.

University of California, Berkeley GERHARD MASUR

65 VALIANTS. By *Alice Houston Luiggi.* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1965. Pp. xxi, 191. $5.50.)

THIS book tells the story of the sixty-five schoolteachers who were recruited from the United States by Argentina to help establish its normal school system between 1869 and 1898.

It all started as part of a dream of Sarmiento, a great admirer of Horace Mann, the United States, and US public schools. Exiled from Argentina, Sarmiento established in Chile in 1843 the first normal school in the Southern Hemisphere. A few years later he visited Mann, a fellow crusader for common schools, and was profoundly impressed with the US schools he saw and with the work of women teachers whom he considered better suited to teach young children than men. At that time he decided that women must be recruited for the schools of Argentina. To do so would mean a radical change in existing social customs which did not encourage work for Argentine women, whose activities were limited mainly to the home and church.

Named by Argentina as minister plenipotentiary to the United States in 1865, Sarmiento began recruiting women teachers from the US as a first step toward enticing Argentine women into the teaching profession. With the assistance of Mrs. Mann, W. E. Sheldon, founder of the Oswego normal school, William Franklin Phelps of the normal school at Winona, Minnesota, and A. C. Shortridge, head of the Indiana school system, Sarmiento was able to recruit sixty-five teachers, who went to Argentina to establish, reorganize, or head eighteen normal schools over a thirty-year period.

Four years of research in Argentina and the US enabled the author to piece together a fragmentary but fascinating account of these intrepid pioneers. We learn who they were, why they went, what obstacles they faced, and what successes they enjoyed. Citing the generous commendations from Argentine sources about the high standards of scholarship and conduct of these Yankee schoolteachers, the author emphasizes the profound and lasting influence on Argentine education by this small but highly selected group.

Mrs. Luiggi has rendered a singular contribution in illuminating a little-known but highly successful venture in inter-American collaboration that occurred long before the advent of the Peace Corps, Alliance for Progress, or Fulbright exchanges. An introduction and an "In Memoriam," both written by Professor J. Fred Rippy, help place the book in the context of over-all US-Argentine rela-

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tionships and reveal pertinent information about the author, with whom he was personally acquainted.

University of Texas CLARK C. GILL

A HISTORY OF MODERN BRAZIL, 1889–1964. By *José Maria Bello*. Translated from the Portuguese by *James L. Taylor*. With a new concluding chapter by *Rollie E. Poppino*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1966. Pp. xix, 362. $10.00.)

NOT many years ago Latin American historians, in writing their national histories, gave only the most cautious coverage of their own times, and there was a marked preference for the distant and uncontroversial colonial era. The late José Maria Bello broke with this tradition by concentrating on Brazil's history after the fall of the monarchy in 1889. He brought the fourth edition of this work, published in 1959, down to 1954, and he did not simply gloss over Brazilian political and economic events in the years since 1930. His history, which is excellently translated and edited by James L. Taylor and brought down to 1964 in a penetrating final chapter by Rollie E. Poppino, is an enormous improvement over the works available for translation in the 1930's. It is undoubtedly the most informative study of republican Brazil available in English, and it reflects the high caliber of scholarly work being done by Brazil's present-day historians.

In his preface to the fourth edition Bello stated: "What I have attempted is a symbolic interpretation of the life of my country in all its manifestations. . . . Some of my amiable critics have noted in this work . . . a certain tendency to disenchantment, if not at times to vague pessimism. I do not think they are right. I am as far from pessimism as from optimism. Brazil . . . is my constant torment. I see her great, rich, strong, decent, and happy, but the reality frequently and harshly shatters my illusions."

In writing of the period since the 1920's especially, Bello did not view events from a distance, for he was, in his own words, a "militant politician" of the Old Republic. "At a little over forty years of age, I was a Federal Senator with a nine-year mandate, and recognized governor-elect of my native state, Pernambuco. The 1930 revolution put a sudden stop—and I soon accepted the fact that it was a permanent one—to my political career."

The organization is by presidential terms, which Bello admits is merely for convenience and not because of any inherent significance in them. The Vargas era is, therefore, the most interesting part of the book. Despite his own political involvement, Bello did not write with rancor. "Getúlio Vargas was an approachable and amiable man, a patient listener who was extremely discreet and cautious in speech and careful never to commit himself. . . . A legend, partly true, grew up of his good nature, his instinctive kindness and tolerance. . . . We can suppose that both his sincere revulsion against the harsh inequalities in Brazilian society and his clearly demagogic intents caused him to seek among the masses, who were kept permanently worked up by the official propaganda, the support denied or grudgingly given him by the elites."

It is a genuine pleasure to recommend this book. I am aware that special credit

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should go to those who prepared the translation, credit they will never fully receive because the authorship was not theirs. Their achievement, like that of the author, must be acknowledged as a contribution to our understanding of modern Brazil, which embraces half of the area and half of the population of South America.

Texas Christian University DONALD E. WORCESTER

ARGENTINE RADICALISM: THE HISTORY AND DOCTRINE OF THE RADICAL CIVIC UNION. By *Peter G. Snow.* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 137. Cloth $3.75, paper $2.75.)

THIS volume sketches the history of one of the oldest and most important political parties in Latin America, Argentina's Radical party (*Unión Cívica Radical*), from its formation in 1891 to 1963. Described in these pages as having "the immigrant middle class as its primary basis of support," the party has alternated between resounding success and dismal failure. Factional fights have weakened it from the start, and the latest schism, in 1957, shows no sign of healing. Yet both of Argentina's latest presidential elections (1958 and 1963) have been won by Radicals, though of different branches of the party. If these branches were reunited, they would again—as most times in the past—make the Radicals the largest party in Argentina, with nearly half the total vote, as compared with the Peronists' quarter of it.

Professor Snow's political narrative does not satisfactorily explain the persistence either of Argentine Radicalism's wide appeal or of its internecine conflicts. These and other questions could have been explored with better results if the author had dug deeper with the aid of special studies, such as those on social history by Gino Germani and others, and had made greater use of source materials. But, in justice to him, it should be noted that he modestly describes his study as a pioneering effort and that students will find it useful for its unraveling of the intricacies of party politics, especially since 1940, and for its assemblage of assorted data, including long series of voting records. As a pilot study based on materials available in the United States, his book shows promise, and it is to be hoped that he will carry it on more deeply in Argentina.

Princeton, New Jersey ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

ACCIÓN DEMOCRÁTICA: EVOLUTION OF A MODERN POLITICAL PARTY IN VENEZUELA. By *John D. Martz.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 443. $12.50.)

POLITICAL parties, in the American or British understanding of the term, were, until recently, virtually nonexistent in Latin America. Well into the nineteenth century the so-called political parties were in reality factional and personalistic groupings within the small, privileged ruling class. In policy and program they were not adjusted to the socioeconomic realities of the countries in which the iniquities of outdated colonialism and quasi feudalism persisted. These "traditional" parties tended, in relatively recent times, on being challenged by revolu-

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tionary economic and social changes, to give way to the "modern" party which faces up to, and reflects in its program, the changing patterns of economic interests and social stratification. Such a party is *Acción Democrática* which was formed in Venezuela in 1941.

In this excellent study, based largely on documents and firsthand interviews reflective of diligent and critical scholarship, Dr. Martz accounts for the origins, organization, doctrine, membership, and program of one of Latin America's most important political parties. Leaving scarcely any aspect or facet of *Acción Democrática* untouched, the author explores its relationships with labor, the military, and rival parties. Particular attention is given to the elections of 1958 and 1963.

Acción Democrática emerged a rarity in the Venezuelan political scene: a national party of multiclass composition and interest. To be sure, there are scattered references in party literature to the historic hostility between management and labor. The term "socialism" was not uncommon in the earlier years of the party. "Yet there is little in today's *Acción Democrática,*" says Martz, "which resembles pure socialism. . . . While the job of the state in the economy has been and will continue substantial, this is a far cry from effective nationalization."

Although the party emerged a winner in the election of 1963, the margin of victory was considerably less than in the election of 1958. COPEI, the Venezuelan equivalent of Christian democratic parties in other Latin American countries, registered a substantial gain, and thus *Acción Democrática* is no longer alone as a "modern" party. Whether this presages a healthy future for two-party political action in Venezuela is a difficult question to answer, given the volatility of Latin American politics.

Martz has contributed greatly to our understanding of a major effort to promote a national political program by bringing the organized populace into the electoral process. The history of *Acción Democrática* must be regarded as a significant demonstration of democratic action in Venezuela.

University of Texas J. Lloyd Mecham

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* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

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* * * * Association Notes * * * *

American Historical Association

This section of the *American Historical Review,* formerly known as "Historical News," will now contain items concerning the Association, notices of recent deaths of members, and communications from our readers. Other materials previously included in this section will appear in the *AHA Newsletter.*

As members have been informed in a separate mailing, the Council of the Association acted at its spring meeting to establish, with the Organization of American Historians, a Joint Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment. The Association has accordingly set up within its accounts a separate fund for the defense of these rights. This will be maintained as a continuing fund. Its purpose is to aid in defending the constitutional rights of historians within the terms of the Association's charter, that is, the constitutional rights that are vital to the promotion of historical studies and to the interests of history in America.

A new committee appointed jointly by other historical associations and the AHA is the Joint Bibliographical Committee, now active on the basis of a grant, announced September 15, to the Association from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The members are: Oron J. Hale (American Historical Association), University of Virginia, chairman; Oscar O. Winther (Organization of American Historians), Indiana University; Donald N. Koster (American Studies Association), Adelphi College; James H. Shideler (Agricultural History Society), University of California, Davis; Clyde C. Walton (Association of State and Local History), Illinois State Historical Society; S. W. Higginbotham (Southern Historical Association), Rice University; John A. Carroll (Western History Association), Texas Christian University; Elizabeth Hamer, Library of Congress; Oliver W. Holmes, National Historical Publications Commission; Eric Boehm, American Bibliographical Center; Henry R. Winkler (American Historical Association), Rutgers University.

The New York Hilton Hotel at Rockefeller Center, New York City, will serve as the headquarters hotel for the Association's Annual Meeting, December 28–30, 1966. Fifteen hundred rooms have been reserved there, and an additional two thousand have been reserved at eight nearby hotels. Information about locations, rates, and detailed instructions will be sent to all members when the program of the meeting is distributed in mid-fall. All room reservations will be arranged by the AHA Housing Bureau operated by the New York Convention and Visitors Bureau. Applications should *not* be made directly to the hotel.

There will be no advance registration for the meeting. The badge for admittance to sessions and tickets for the luncheons and dinner listed in the

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program may be obtained at the registration desk, located on the second-floor promenade of the Hilton Hotel. The desk will be open Tuesday, December 27, from 3 p.m. until 10 p.m.; Wednesday, December 28, from 8 a.m. until 6 p.m.; Thursday, December 29, from 8:30 a.m. until 4:30 p.m.; and Friday, December 30, from 8:30 a.m. until 12:30 p.m. Names of those attending and their local addresses while at the meeting will be available at the locator file adjacent to the registration desk on the second-floor promenade.

Throughout the Annual Meeting, the Professional Register will operate on the fifth floor of the New York Hilton Hotel in the P. G. Wodehouse and O. Henry Suites. Candidates may join the Register or bring their papers up to date at the meeting, if they have not already done so by mail. Prospective employers may review the Register's vita files, and they may also have their staff needs posted. Departmental representatives can further facilitate matters if they notify the Professional Register by December 14 of their hiring needs.

Candidates and employers alike should list their local address with the Professional Register as soon as they arrive in New York because the Register will make every effort to expedite the interviewing process through the use of five rooms on the fifth floor of the headquarters hotel. Candidates must be AHA members before joining the Register. The initial fee is three dollars, with an annual renewal charge of one dollar. The services of the Register are available to employers without charge. For additional information, consult the program of the Annual Meeting and the December 1966 *AHA Newsletter,* or write the Association at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003.

Recent Deaths

Abbot Payson Usher of Salem, Massachusetts, died June 18, 1965.

William L. Wyckoff of New York City died January 29, 1966.

J. Harry Bennett, a member of the history department at the University of Texas, died April 25.

Robert L. Reynolds, a member of the history department at the University of Wisconsin, died April 29.

Horace T. Morse, dean of the General College at the University of Minnesota, died May 10.

Laura M. Shufelt of Delmar, New York, died May 16.

Walter G. Davis, a life member of the Association from Portland, Maine, died June 11.

George C. Soulis, associate professor at the University of California, Berkeley, died June 22.

E. Taylor Parks, retired chief of the Research, Guidance, and Review Division of the State Department Historical Office, died June 30, at the age of sixty-seven

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Lyle Stanton Shelmidine, chairman of the history department at the University of Puget Sound, died recently.

Eleanor Florance of Shaker Heights, Ohio, and Morrison Sharp of North Canton, Ohio, died recently.

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

At the Business Meeting of the 1965 AHA Annual Meeting a resolution was introduced proposing "a committee to investigate procedures for the accreditation of graduate schools of history. . . ." The motion was defeated by the President's deciding vote, although an assurance was given that a committee was considering the establishment of a set of standards as a guide for departments of history.

The matter cannot be allowed to rest at this point. Standards are useless unless there is an agency with power to ensure their acceptance, not only by departments of history but by administrators and legislators. New graduate programs are being initiated each year; new institutions, and colleges newly raised to university status, are offering graduate work. If the Ph.D. degree is the "union card" for college faculties (and the M.A. for junior colleges), surely the profession ought to exercise some control over the programs that provide entry into its ranks. Indeed, the establishment of such control is one of the signs that a profession has attained maturity. By this standard we historians are professionally immature.

Accreditation is the only procedure whereby the historical profession can generally ensure the adequacy of the preparation of its future members. Existing accrediting agencies have hardly attempted this task, and in any case it would be unwise to entrust this responsibility to nonhistorians. We must undertake the task for ourselves, employing the resources of our professional association.

I trust that the motion for accreditation will again be brought forth at the 1966 Business Meeting and that historians who are concerned for the future of their profession will attend and give it their support.

University of Minnesota Josef L. Altholz

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

In his review of Mr. Neville Williams' *Thomas Howard, Fourth Duke of Norfolk* (*AHR*, LXXI [Apr. 1966], 948), Professor Horwitz draws attention to the glaring discrepancy between Mr. Williams' estimate of the Duke's average "income" (apparently meaning gross receipts from all sources) and my estimate of the gross rental in 1558. This is a matter of more than trivial significance, for if the income of the greatest nobleman, and only duke, in England was in fact only £3,500, as Mr. Williams suggests, then the aristocracy was indeed in a very bad way at the accession of Elizabeth. My figure of £6,000 for gross rental in 1558 was calculated backward from the accounts of the late Duke's receiver-general for 1572–1579, which were missed by Mr. Williams (Cambridge University Library, Dd.13.8). They show that gross cash receipts from land, excluding such things as borrowings and land sales, and deducting unpaid arrears, were running at about £7,000 a year. To this must be added receipts from the Lincoln-

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shire and Shropshire property and the value of produce from the demesne farms. Total gross income in 1572 from all sources, including the profits of office, must therefore have been between £8,000 and £10,000, as compared with Mr. Williams' estimate of "something over £4,500" for the same date.

Princeton University LAWRENCE STONE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Dowd's recent review (*AHR,* LXXI [Apr. 1966], 972) of my book, *The Idea of Art as Propaganda in France, 1750–1799: A Study in the History of Ideas,* contains many disturbing features such as quotation out of context, unsubstantiated talk of omissions, distortion of my treatment of Boissy d'Anglas, neglect of the first two-thirds of the book, plus the obviously hostile tone of his criticisms, but I would like to reply only to his two most serious indictments.

First, Dowd makes the incredible charge that I neglected 1,477 cartons in the F^{17} series on public instruction and a number of other rich series in the Archives Nationales. The F^{17} series contains many more than 1,480 boxes, but this is the total analyzed by Paul Marichal in his "table des grands articles." Dowd must know that of this total only about two hundred deal with the plastic arts and that most of these have been either published, concern matters entirely outside my subject, or are chronologically off limits. Every item possibly relevant to my purpose was carefully examined, although naturally only those yielding important evidence could be cited in my book. The fact that other scholars have gone through these cartons before does not prove that they have been exhausted for all purposes, as, for example, anyone familiar with previous accounts of the outcome of the art contest of year II–III will realize. The other series Dowd mentions, dealing with public accounts, police, civic buildings, and public works, may be "rich" for some purposes, but proved on the whole unrewarding for mine. The F^{21} series concerns the fine arts, but contains very little prior to 1800. When I spoke of hitherto unexplored materials, moreover, I meant essays, plans, poems, journals, and other printed as well as archival materials.

Second, Dowd objects that I have failed to treat the problem of the effectiveness of visual propaganda. Before the fine arts could possibly become effective ideological weapons they had to be redirected on a scale never achieved by royal officials or their revolutionary successors. My account of the failure of various government programs to create great public monuments and my statistical analysis of all 4,948 works displayed in the Salons from 1789 to 1799 should make this clear. Of course there remains the influence of prints and busts not exhibited in the Louvre, but since most of these were sold they tended to reflect rather than to shape public sentiment. The actual influence of didactic works, especially visual images, on the thoughts and behavior of the masses is very difficult if not impossible to determine at any time, and even more so during a period like the Terror when observers either revealed a strong bias or were overawed by fear.

Dowd concludes that my monograph is neither pioneering nor definitive. Who was so foolish as to claim it was either?

Queen's University JAMES A. LEITH

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To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

I regret that Mr. Leith has chosen to interpret my review as some sort of personal indictment. On the contrary it was an honest effort to give him a fair review and readers of the *AHR* a critical and informed appraisal of his monograph. It is always pleasanter to write a review that is highly favorable, but to be valuable to the profession a review must be candid. In this case it seemed necessary to correct the false impression conveyed (at least to me) by remarks in Leith's preface (pp. vii–viii) and in his "Essay on Sources" (pp. 168–71): that the subject had not really been studied before and that Leith had adequately explored the archival sources and had satisfactorily treated the more significant aspects of the subject in the period 1789–1799. Since the author does not deny that my review accurately represented the content and conclusions of his monograph and since he now states that he did not intend to claim that it was either a pioneering or a definitive work, perhaps nothing more need be said. In his rejoinder, however, Mr. Leith makes additional statements which, if accepted at face value, would discourage further research and publications on an important and interesting subject.

First of all, contrary to the statement in his second paragraph concerning the archival materials that I suggested should have been explored, I know from personal examination of the manuscripts that the series indicated, plus various others, do in fact contain important data directly relating to propaganda art. Publications by Ferdinand Boyer and other French scholars (omitted by Leith, by the way) also established this beyond argument.

The Paris government, moreover, was not the sole generator of propaganda art. In the year II there were 86 departments, 560 districts, 21,500 revolutionary committees, 41,000 municipalities, plus some 6,000 to 8,000 Jacobin Clubs and thousands of other organizations of revolutionary militants that used all available means, including the plastic arts, to influence public opinion. Personal investigations made in various departmental and communal archives and in provincial museums and local collections indicate that almost everywhere in France there is evidence that painters, sculptors, engravers, and architects produced quantities of propaganda art. Surely the works of art generated by some 70,000 units all over France are just as important as the 250 "works consciously conveying some revolutionary message" exhibited at the Paris salons between 1789 and 1799 that Leith repeatedly stresses and the few national art programs that he also describes.

Finally, Leith eliminates from consideration all works of art that were not "translated into permanent sculptured figures or historical painting" (p. viii) on the theory that only the latter could have a "lasting impact." He thus fails to recognize that the propaganda art of the revolutionaries, like their rhetoric (as Peter Gay tells us), "took place in, and was meant to influence, a rapidly changing political situation." Propaganda art by its very nature need not have an enduring influence for, though works of art may last, the political messages they impart change according to political circumstances. Therefore the relatively perishable and constantly changing array of works of art which "embellished" the meeting halls of the national and local authorities and clubs as well as those which decorated the streets and squares of Paris and provincial cities and towns before,

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during, and often long after civic fetes must be considered as an essential aspect of the subject.

French efforts to mobilize the fine arts in behalf of the First Republic were certainly much more extensive and effective than Leith admits. I agree that it is difficult to evaluate the impact of propaganda art on those whom it is designed to influence, but I do not agree that it is impossible. I believe, in fact, that it is one of the most essential of the historian's tasks. Twenty years ago I made the attempt for precisely the period under discussion in a doctoral dissertation entitled "Art as Propaganda in the French Revolution: A Study of Jacques-Louis David" which dealt not only with David's role as organizer of revolutionary festivals but also with the theory and practice of the utility of painting, sculpture, engraving, architecture (and to a degree the theater, music, and the dance) as propaganda media.

Since then four years of archival research on other artists of the French Revolution and Napoleonic era conducted in Parisian and provincial archives, libraries, and museums have convinced me that the subject of propaganda art is still far from exhausted; Leith's monograph has served to confirm that judgment. I am not suggesting that Leith should have completely exhausted all archival sources before publishing his monograph but that he should have looked harder at what he saw and defined his topic less narrowly. The purpose of my remarks in my review and in this communication is not to attack Leith but to put on record the fact that the subject *has not been exhausted* and that unexploited archival materials in ample quantities still await researchers who should be encouraged, rather than discouraged, from going on from where earlier writers have left off. I sincerely hope that historians, perhaps in cooperation with social psychologists, political scientists, and art historians, will conduct further studies on the idea and use of art as propaganda during the French and other revolutions.

University of Kentucky DAVID L. DOWD

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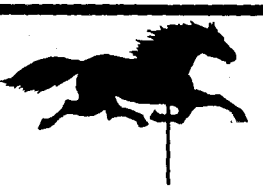
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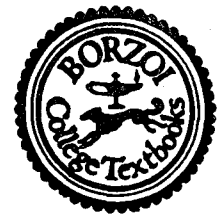
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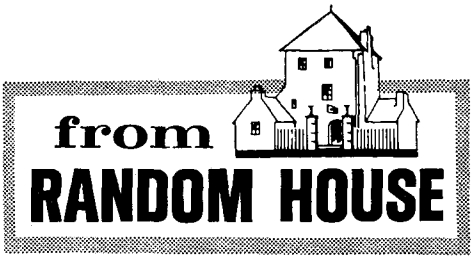
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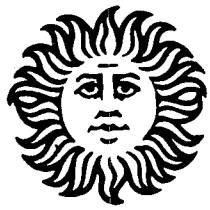
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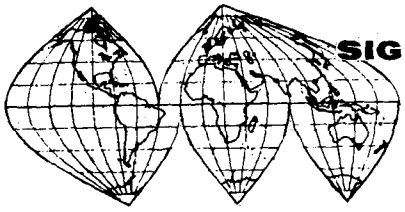
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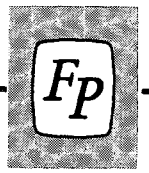
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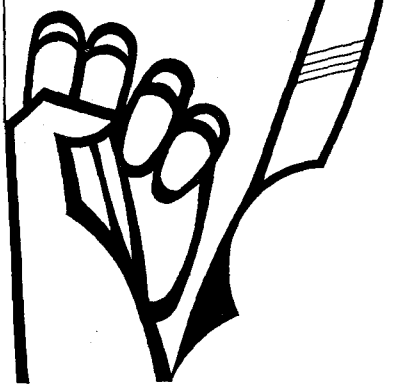
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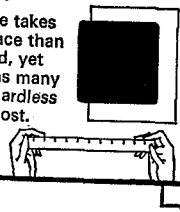
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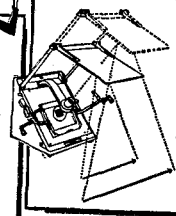
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